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Vol. XI November, 1932 No. 11

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THE PRACTICE OF BOLSHEVIK SELF-CRITICISM

By S. TSIRUL

The test of Bolshevik self-criticism is self-correction. This pamphlet shows that while the Party knows of and speaks of its mistakes and shortcomings, it does not as yet make any serious attempts to correct them. As the concluding paragraph of the pamphlet states:

> "We can issue only one warning: Unless the Party takes up with as much determination control of the execution of its own decisions with which it has engaged in self-criticism, it will not move one step forward in the direction of an improvement of its work, for as Comrade Browder correctly noted, 'a resolution remaining on paper is an obstacle to the development of the work.' And there are still far too many such paper resolutions in the Party."

The Central Committee considers this article, which first appeared in "Communist International," Vol. IX, No. 15, of such vital importance, that it is now reprinted in pamphlet form at the low price of 2 cents a copy. The contents of this pamphlet must be carefully studied by the entire Party membership, not merely in connection with the work of the Party as a whole, but on the basis of the shortcomings in the work of the unit and section to which we belong.

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Fifteen Years of Victorious Proletarian Revolution

FIFTEEN years ago the October Revolution in Russia tore the power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and handed it over to the proletariat.

The Russian proletariat, utilising the great lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871, and taking the path indicated by Marx and Lenin, established their dictatorship in the form of the Soviet state over one-sixth of the globe.

The October Revolution opened up a new chapter of world history—the chapter of *World Proletarian Revolution.*

The Soviet state, which was born in the midst of the conflagration of the World War, at the time of the deep crisis of capitalism, in the struggle of the broad masses for food, freedom and peace, from its very first days made its slogan the complete destruction of capitalism, the construction of Socialist society on the ruins of the landlords and bourgeoisie of Russia, and the struggle for the victory of Socialism throughout the world.

With this flag in its hands, the proletarian dictatorship not only proclaimed, but carried into existence a wide program for the radical reconstruction of the whole life of the country.

From the first days of its existence, the Soviet power *delivered shattering blows at imperialist war,* appealing to all the peoples and governments to stop the war, and, at the same time, directed their own arms against the imperialists in their own country. The proletarian dictatorship which expropriated the land of the landlords and gave it into the hands of the toiling peasants, put an end to the relics of feudalism, absolutely destroyed the oppression of the landlords, and won over the basic masses of the peasants to the side of the proletariat, as allies in the further fight for Socialism.

By wresting the banks, factories and mines from the hands of the capitalist class, the Soviet state *radically undermined the roots of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie* and commenced the Socialist transformation of the economy of the country. The Soviet state gave full rights to all nations which were previously oppressed by Czarism and Russian imperialism, gave them the right

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of self-determination, and freedom to decide their own fate. Relying on the revolutionary power of the toiling masses, hundreds of peoples have organized a fraternal alliance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in which there is no place for the exploitation of the weaker peoples by the stronger ones, in which the advanced countries help the backward ones to develop their economic systems on the basis of the newest technique and industrialization, and to develop Socialist culture in a national form; in which there is no place for national and race hatred, and in which all the people are willingly helping to build Socialism.

The October Revolution destroyed the shameful oppression and slavery of the toiling women and gave them complete equality with the toiling men, setting free the creative forces of the broadest masses of women for the struggle for Socialism.

The Soviets mercilessly crushed the resistance of the bourgeois class, which they had overthrown, and simultaneously began to carry out the most consistent and the broadest proletarian democracy, the democracy of the masses, which insured an unprecedented development of creative forces, energy and revolutionary enthusiasm. The proletarian state set up its Red Army, the army of the proletarian revolution, and other organs of revolutionary defense. It repulsed the intervention of the imperialists, the innumerable revolts of the white guards and the kulaks, and it overcame the sabotage and the wrecking of the counter-revolutionary sections of the specialists, the repeated attempts of the class enemy to undermine and overthrow the Soviet power.

The Soviet power took its heroic way through hunger, devastation, civil war, and imperialist intervention, and, overcoming terrific difficulties, it steadily marched on from victory to victory, day by day strengthening the economic and political might of the country, gaining more and more victories on the front of the cultural revolution, and strengthening its contacts with the revolutionary vanguard of the toilers of all countries.

Having converted the Soviet Union into an impregnable fortress of the dictatorship of the proletariat, year by year increasing its importance on the world arena, the Soviet power forced the imperialist world and the enemies of Socialism to reckon with it as a tremendous power. Having established its right to existence in the civil war, and its right to further development along the new Socialist path, the country of the proletarian dictatorship became converted into the main support of the world proletarian revolution.

At present the Soviet Union stands against the whole of the old capitalist world as the banner of the toilers and the oppressed of all

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countries, as a stern warning to the imperialist world, as the banner of world Communism.

The international proletariat, the toilers and the oppressed of both hemispheres celebrate the Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution as their greatest holiday. The international proletariat summarises the path along which it has travelled and notes the tremendous growth of the forces of Socialism, the forces of the world proletarian revolution, and simultaneously, the tremendous weakening of the positions of world capitalism.

The Soviet Union—the fatherland of the toilers of all countries —has irrevocably consolidated its Socialist position. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, has completed the foundation of Socialist economy, and in the Second Five Year Plan will commence to build a classless Socialist society.

The victorious banner of the Soviets is waving over an extensive territory in China, enlightening the whole colonial east with the glaring blaze of the revolution, rousing India and Indo-China, destroying the might of imperialism, extending and strengthening the front of the world proletarian revolution.

The proletarian revolution is knocking at the door of the European capitalists, who have already been burned by the revolutionary conflagration in Spain and are being shattered by the rapid maturing of the factors for the revolutionary crisis in Poland and Germany. The forces of the world proletarian revolution are growing in the strikes of the proletariat of town and village, in the revolutionary movement of the unemployed, in peasant revolts, in colonial revolutions, in the revolutionary movement of the soldiers and sailors of imperialist countries, in the expansion of the united front of the toilers against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and war, in the mighty upsurge of the Communist movement, of the steady growth of the Communist International.

Since the beginning of the World War, world capitalism entered into a deep general crisis, receiving a heavy blow from the October Revolution which tore away one-sixth of the world from the power of capital.

In spite of the temporary strengthening of capital, it not only failed to establish itself, but it is steadily decaying. The forces of capitalism are continually declining under the destructive blows of the ever-deepening economic crisis, the growing revolutionary resistance of the masses, and the sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution will be met by the world proletariat under the conditions of the beginning of a

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new war in the East and the approach of new and decisive class struggles. The temporary stabilization of capitalism has ended and a new cycle of wars and revolutions is approaching.

In the decisive class fights which are coming, the Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is the greatest support for the proletariat of all countries. This Socialist construction has been achieved in spite of tremendous difficulties, in a country surrounded by capitalists, and it has achieved historic success as the result of the tremendous heroism and creative power of the broad working masses, the correct general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the active support given to the country which is building Socialism by the international proletariat and by the whole of the Communist International.

For fifteen years two worlds have existed side by side—the new world and the old world, the world of rising Socialism, and the world of dying capitalism. Today, the international proletariat, together with all the exploited and oppressed of the world, are comparing the results of fifteen years of bourgeois domination and fifteen years of the rule of the proletariat, and in every respect these results speak in favor of Socialism.

During these fifteen years, the Soviet Union has moved forward with gigantic strides. In the course of a few months achievements have been made which required years in capitalist countries.

In the first few years of the existence of the Soviet state, the bourgeoisie and the social democrats tirelessly repeated that its rapid downfall was inevitable. When the victory of the Soviets in the civil war destroyed these prophecies, the class enemies again began tirelessly to foretell the inevitable breakdown of the Soviet state on the economic front. As the result of the successful completion of the restoration period, on the basis of the New Economic Policy (NEP), these prophecies were altered into statements by our enemies that the success of the Soviets on the economic front did not mean the victory of Socialism, and that Socialism will be completely defeated, as the development of the Soviet Union will lead to the restoration of capitalism.

The success of the first Five Year Plan, the plan of the extensive Socialist offensive and the high tempo of industrialization and mass collectivization, the Five Year Plan for the construction of the foundation of Socialist economy—this Five Year Plan destroyed all these prophecies.

Long before the end of the first Five Year Plan, the Soviet Union entered the period of Socialism. In the struggle of the two systems, the question of victory has been decided in favor of Socialism. The

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proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has shown in practice to the whole world what the working class is capable of when it takes power into its own hands. The working class of the U.S.S.R. not only violently took possession of capitalist property, overcame devastation without the help of the capitalists, and emerged from economic crisis, but it has multiplied the wealth of the country, has raised the economy of the country to a higher level, and has insured a further rapid growth on a new Socialist foundation.

The international proletariat notes another tremendous victory of Socialism—the completion of the first Five Year Plan in four years, simultaneously with the Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The fourth year of the Socialist Five Year Plan is ending. The Soviet Union stands at the threshold of the Second Five Year Plan. In the sphere of industry and agriculture gigantic industrial plants have been constructed equipped according to the latest technical achievements, and making it possible on a Socialist basis to achieve a rapid development of productive forces and a continuous improvement of the well-being and the standard of life of the broad masses of toilers. In the sphere of metallurgy, coal production, machine construction, oil production, tractor building, the production of agricultural machinery, the first Five Year Plan has already been surpassed. With regard to the production of oil, the Soviet Union has reached first place in the world; in the sphere of machine construction, the U.S.S.R. this year will win second place in the world; and in the manufacture of agriculture machinery—first place in the world. In this way is carried out the slogan: "Overtake and pass the foremost capitalist countries in economic and technical matters within the next ten years." Owing to this success, the Soviet Union in the next few years will be completely independent of the capitalist world in technical and economic respects.

The Five Year Plan has been more than fulfilled in the most difficult sphere of Socialist construction—the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Alreadry 61.5% of the peasants are collectivized and 70% of the sown area of the whole country belongs to the collective farms. Eighty-one percent of the sown area is cultivated by the Socialist sector. Agriculture in the U.S.S.R. has been converted from the obsolete scattered poverty-stricken little farms where the land was cultivated by primitive wooden plows as in ancient times, into a country of agriculture on the largest scale in the world, where the land is cultivated by the most modern agricultural implements, machines and fleets of tractors which guarantee a high efficiency of labor.

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Thousands of machine-tractor stations cultivate the fields. Deserts are being irrigated, the steppes are being worked up, arid districts are being converted into fertile fields. New regions are continually being added to the areas under cultivation, new industrial centres are growing up, new towns are being built and the old ones are being reconstructed. Dozens of new electric power stations are operating the newly built factories and mills, illuminating the most distant villages, driving out candles and rush-lights. Backward, illiterate Russia is steadily progressing toward prosperity, light and Socialism.

The fourteen years of post-war development of capitalism present a complete contrast to all this. The crushing of the first wave of revolutionary fights from 1918-1923, temporary stabilization, rationalization and the present economic world crisis—such is the path of post-war development of capitalism, a path of increasing poverty, of increasing exploitation and oppression of millions of toilers.

Under the blows of an unprecedented, sharp, continuous, lengthy and deep economic crisis, capitalism has been thrown back for decades to the level of the 19th century. Industry is falling month by month, throwing tens of millions of unemployed into the streets. Only one branch of industry continues to grow—the war industry. Almost all of the capitalist states are going through a period of shattering of their credit systems and a period of inflation. In capitalist countries agriculture has not emerged from a state of prolonged agrarian crisis since the war. The world economic crisis which has incessantly sharpened and deepened since 1914 has thrown agriculture backwards for many decades.

The falling prices for grain and the growing taxes and debts are a heavy burden on the peasants. Millions of toiling peasants have been forced to sell their homes and their farms, and have become proletarianized in masses. And this has taken place at a time when the agriculture of the Soviet Union is rapidly reaching a state of development only possible under Socialism.

While in the capitalist world unemployment has assumed unprecedented proportions, in the Soviet Union unemployment has completely disappeared although the first Five Year Plan did not provide for this. Tens of thousands of the unemployed from capitalist countries have found work in the U.S.S.R.

While in the capitalist countries the poverty and starvation of the masses is reaching frightful proportions, in the U.S.S.R. the standard of living of the working class of the broad masses of collective farmers and of the office workers is rising year by year. In 1931 the total number of workers in the Soviet Union reached the enormous figure of 18,000,000, an increase of 3,000,000 in a single

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year. In the same year wages increased by 16%. During the last three years the income of a worker's family has increased by 60% owing to the absence of unemployment. The expenditure for social service to the workers (rest homes, sanatoriums) has reached the enormous sum of 3½ billion rubles in one year.

The cultural revolution in the Soviet Union has achieved enormous successes in contrast to the deep cultural reaction in the capitalist countries.

Socialist industrialization and collectivization requires an army of millions of skilled cultural and technical instructors, workers and organizers. While in capitalist countries the education budgets are cut down, schools are being closed and millions of proletarian youths are starving and are in a hopeless material situation, a state of complete despair without any prospects for the future, in the U.S.S.R. the preparation of active and conscious builders of Socialism is taking place on a tremendous scale. By the end of 1931 there were over 3,000,000 students in the universities, colleges and workers faculties. This number is increasing day by day. The country which only yesterday was an ignorant and illiterate country is already becoming a country of complete literacy, a country with compulsory 7-year and 10-year school courses, the country of the new Socialist culture.

Only in the U.S.S.R. can the workers look hopefully on the future of their children. Only in the U.S.S.R. is the youth full of confidence and enthusiasm, realizing its great historic mission and the broad horizon for the application of its creative powers and the application of its energy and great aims.

All these successes have been achieved under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, which mobilized the broadest masses on the basis of the general Party line under the slogan of Socialist industrialization and Socialist competition and shop work, developing the creative energy of the millions, organizing and leading them. The Bolshevik Party entered on Socialist construction under the gifted leadership of Lenin and widely developed it under the leadership of the best disciple of Lenin, Comrade Stalin, the leader of the C.P.S.U. and the Communist International. The Bolshevik Party organizes this construction and leads it in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, in an irreconcilable struggle against right opportunism and "left" deviations and against conciliation to them, and mobilizes the millions to carry it out.

On the basis of the successes already achieved, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., confident of its own strength, puts forward the historic task of the Second Five Year Plan.

In the Second Five Year Plan the proletariat of the Soviet Union

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undertakes the *final liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general,* the destruction of the causes which give rise to class distinctions and exploitation, the destruction of all the relics of capitalism in economics and in the consciousness of the people, the conversion of the whole of the toiling population of the Soviet Union into conscious and active builders of classless Socialist society.

With these great tasks in view, the Second Five Year Plan provides for the *complete re-equipment of all branches of national economy on the basis of the most modern technique, the satisfaction of all the needs of the rapidly developing national economy and the further raising of the level of well-being of the toiling masses* (above all, the workers and collective farmers). However, there are great difficulties in the path of the fulfillment of the great Plan—the difficulties of growth. These difficulties have nothing in common with the difficulties of capitalist economy. In the capitalist countries the stores are bursting with enormous supplies of food and clothing while the impoverished and starving masses cannot obtain them. In South America tremendous quantities of rice, grain and coffee are being destroyed, coffee is being made into fuel brickets with the aim of forcing up prices, while the masses are dying of starvation. Between the starving masses and the articles necessary for them stands the wall of capitalist ownership. In capitalist economy the growth of productive forces has changed from a progressive force into a hindrance.

But in the U.S.S.R. the workers who have made tremendous strides in the direction of improving their material situation, have become converted from culturally backward, easily satisfied and downtrodden semi-slaves into the foremost fighters for Socialism, and cannot satisfy completely their rapidly growing demands, although every day these demands are satisfied more and more.

House-building is rapidly increasing. The workers long since left the dark cellars where they used to live, but the number of men and women workers is growing faster than the number of new houses equipped with all comforts. Boots and clothing are being made on a much larger scale than before the Revolution, but before the Revolution a hundred million peasants used to wear rags on their backs and bark shoes on their feet, while now they wear leather boots and city clothing. Their increased income makes it possible for them to buy more and their higher cultural level develops in them new demands every day. There is a rapidly growing demand for light and airy rooms, for furniture, books, newspapers, radios and movies. Although the production of these articles is continually increasing, nevertheless, there are not enough of them.

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Before the Revolution peasants used to eat nothing but black bread all the year around. To pay the taxes, they sold not only their grain, but also their chickens, eggs and milk. They only had enough to eat twice a year—at Easter and Christmas—and on these occasions they drank themselves insensible. Now they and their children wish to live and are actually living as human beings and are making ever-increasing demands on life. These demands are being satisfied better and better every day, but still insufficiently.

This is the reason that one of the chief tasks for the coming years is the rapid acceleration of the total volume of production, a still more rapid development of all the productive forces of the country.

The plan for *increasing the efficiency* of labor has not yet been carried out in full. On this depends the further success of the great Socialist plan. "The efficiency of labor in the long run is the most important of all, the most important for the victories of the new social system. Capitalism created productive forces which were unknown under the serf system. Capitalism can only be finally defeated by the fact that Socialism will create a new and much higher efficiency of labor." (Lenin).

The rapidly growing industry demands an over-increasing output of equipment.

The plan for increased harvests has not yet been carried out. To a great exetent the proper growth of the well-being of the toiling masses depends on this. The development of transport is lagging still further behind the speed of Socialist industry. Until these tasks are solved, the supply of industrial articles to the villages and agricultural products for the towns will suffer. The development of Soviet trading will be hindered instead of raising Socialist distribution to a higher level.

The backwardness which exists on these extremely important fronts has its source in the resistance of the liquidated classes which have not yet been eliminated and in the existence of relics of them in town and village, in industry and in the apparatus of the state. A source for all this backwardness of the striving for ownership which has not yet been completely wiped out by the revolution is the relic of individualist psychology, which hinders the small property owner of yesterday from being rapidly converted into a conscious worker in the field of Socialist labor.

Only by struggling heroically for its great aims, only by stubbornly continuing to break down all the old standards, all the conservative habits, only by mercilessly destroying all the causes which give rise to these standards and habits will the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. be

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able to bury them together with the corpse of the bourgeois system and will be able to insure the complete triumph of Socialism.

These difficulties of growth are also nourished to a great extent from without, from the capitalists who surround the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union alone has resisted the destructive effect of the world economic crisis. But as the Soviet Union comes into contact with the capitalist world on the field of world commerce, it suffers losses in view of the fact that it is a seller of grain (the fall of grain prices) and as a buyer of machines, on which the trusts maintain high prices. The growing war danger which is constantly hanging over the Soviet Union not only creates a further strain, but gives rise to uneasiness among the less resolute sections of the toilers and continues to keep alive the hopes of the relics of the overthrown classes for support and resistance, and so hinders the complete victory of the new Socialist forms of labor and Socialist life.

All these difficulties of growth compel the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. to work with still greater energy on industrialization and to develop with still greater success their heavy industry and especially the machine construction industry so as to confirm still more the independence of the country and guarantee its defenses.

The overwhelming majority of these difficulties which arise from the economic, technical and cultural backwardness of the late Czarist Russia which were inherited by the Soviet Power, which arise from its encirclement by capitalist countries, *will not impede the development of the proletarian dictatorship and the growth of Socialism in the more "advanced" countries of the west,* especially as these countries right from the very first day will rely on the enormous might of the Soviet Union.

These difficulties will disappear more rapidly in the Soviet Union in proportion as the proletarian revolution develops successfully in the countries of imperialism.

More than ever before *the fate of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the further development of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the foremost capitalist countries are closely interwoven. More than ever before the fate of Socialist construction is in the hands of the proletariat of all countries.*

The awakening masses of capitalist countries are more and more often comparing the achievements of the U.S.S.R. with the "achievements" of capitalism and social democracy since the war.

Before the eyes of the masses there is the example of the U.S.A., the classical country of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in its purest form, in the form of "democracy"; the example of Great Britain with its experience of two "labor governments" under Mac-

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Donald, which were to have put into practice a program of constructive Socialism in Great Britain; the lessons of the German "republic" and the policy of German social democracy, the strongest party of the Second International, which betrayed the revolution in Germany, which demanded tremendous sacrifice from the masses in the name of "democracy" and still demands them, the rulers of Germany, who have taken part in various coalition governments and have promised to lead the masses to Socialism (by means of parliaments, by winning "democracy," "economic democracy," by "organized capitalism" and "state capitalism"); the lessons of the French "democratic republic," the fascist dictatorship in Italy and "democracy" in Spain.

All these lessons refute the theory of the social democrats as to the possibility of a peaceful growth into Socialism, as to peace between classes and the possibility of improving the situation of the working class under capitalism. All the governments, all the parties which are in power in these countries have continually lead the masses to ever-increasing poverty, want, unemployment, to ever greater burdens and inhuman oppression. The world economic crisis, mass unemployment, wage-cuts, the reduction of social insurance, eviction from their homes, growing taxation, mass bankruptcy and ruin in the villages—all these are results of fifteen years of "peaceful construction" carried on with the active participation of the social democrats who thus displayed their role of the guardians of capitalism.

The "democratic" German republic, guided and supported by the social democrats with their theory of the lesser evil, has taken the road to fascism, has handed over the reigns of the government into fascist hands. French imperialism with the active support of the French Socialists is not only adopting the most brutal methods of crushing its own working class, but is the protector of the most brutal and reactionary fascist dictatorships in Yugo-Slavia, Poland, Finland, Roumania, etc. The policy of "labor governments" in England is a policy of throttling the strike movements, the demonstrations of the unemployed and the mass revolutionary movement in Great Britain and the colonies. Mass executions in India, the most brutal terror, such are the results of the creative activity of "constructive Socialism."

In 1914 when the World War broke out, the social fascists advanced the slogan of the defense of their own countries and sent the masses to the slaughter. Almost fifteen years ago, when the peace treaties were made, the German social democrats and Vandervelde, who hid behind the slogan "no more war" were the first to sign these treaties which handed 1,250,000,000 people to the exploitation

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of the finance oligarchy of the victors, particularly to England and France. One of the results of these "peace" treaties and this international "peace policy" is the feverish race for armaments, the building of new war factories, the tremendous programs for naval and military construction, etc. The struggle for a new redivision of the world is becoming more acute. *War* has already commenced for this redivision. It was commenced by Japan when it occupied Manchuria and attacked Shanghai. Manchuria has been converted into a new "starting place" from which war will be launched against the eastern borders of the U.S.S.R., while similar places are being strengthened continually on the western borders—in Poland, Roumania, Latvia and Finland.

The last fifteen years of the domination of the bourgeoisie have not brought about the abolition of exploitation or the elimination of the poverty of the toiling masses, but on the contrary they have brought increased exploitation and oppression, the enslavement of the toiling masses and the simultaneous enrichment of the bourgeoisie. They have not lead to the destruction of classes nor the abolition of war. They have not lead to democracy, but to the *sharpening of class antagonisms, an ever more brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the growth of fascism out of democracy, the "third empire" of the fascists, preparations for new imperialist wars, and new interventions against the U.S.S.R.*

The end of capitalist stabilization is leading the world to a new cycle of wars and revolutions. The proletariat and all the toilers and the oppressed are faced with their greatest trial, they are faced with *decisive class fights.*

The whole of the path which has been traveled, the whole of the world situation shows that, in the struggle against the terrible calamities of the economic crisis, against unemployment, fascist counter-revolution and war, there, is only one way which leads to victory—*the path of the revolutionary overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, the seizure of power by the proletariat, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.* It is the path of the October Revolution.

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Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended

THESIS OF THE TWELFTH PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I. ON THE REPORT OF COMRADE KUUSINEN

I. THE END OF CAPITALIST STABILIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF THE U.S.S.R.

THE sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism is proceeding with enormous strides which are carrying this crisis to a new stage. The fundamental changes which are taking place in the world situation are characterized by a number of recent important facts.

1. A tremendous change has taken place in the relations of forces between the Socialist and the capitalist worlds, due primarily to the increase in the relative importance of the U.S.S.R., which is carrying out its great program of Socialist industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution at a tremendous rate. That country has completely established itself in the position of Socialism; the second Five-Year Plan provides for the final abolition of classes and for the conversion of the whole of the toiling population of the country into active and conscious builders of a classless Socialist society. The successes achieved in Socialist construction are securing to an increasing degree the economic independence of the Soviet Union in relation to the capitalist world, and its international power, its revolutionising influence on the toilers and the exploited of all countries and its significance as the basis of the world Socialist revolution have increased.

2. Meanwhile, in the capitalist world there has been a continuation of:

a) *the sharpening of the economic crisis*—industry has contracted to such a degree that more than half of the working class is partially or totally unemployed; the expropriation and impoverishment of the peasants has reached unprecedented dimensions;

b) *the growing revolutionary upsurge* both in imperialist and colonial countries (stubborn and turbulent strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, fierce clashes between the workers and the police

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and fascists, militant activity by the peasant masses, etc.); the sharpening of the struggle of the colonial peoples against the imperialists;

c) *a further sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers* (trade war, acceleration of the imperialist race for armaments, rifts in the Versailles system, the Japanese war against China, an acute sharpening of the relations between Japan and U.S.A., between Great Britain and U.S.A., between Italy and France, between Germany and France, etc.);

d) *intensified preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.*

3. The domination of monopoly capital which, at the present day, has brought under its sway almost the whole economy of capitalist society, makes it extremely difficult, in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, to overcome the economic crisis in the way that was usual for capitalism in the period of free competition. The more the financial oligarchy succeed in grabbing for themselves, at the expense of others, the larger share of the declining aggregate profits of the upper stratum, the more they rob the toilers, and the higher the tariff walls are raised, to this extent home and foreign markets are still further restricted and the crisis is further deepened. This, however, does not imply that capitalism will break down automatically; it implies the inevitable further growth of the revolutionary upsurge and a further sharpening of the fundamental antagonisms which drive the bourgeoisie to seek a violent solution of these antagonisms, both within their own countries and on the international arena.

4. All these facts taken together completely confirm the estimate of the tendencies of development given in the decisions of the X and XI Plenums of the E.C.C.I., and also reveal, in the course of the development of the general crisis of capitalism, a definite *change*, a peculiar swaying of the antagonistic forces, very rapid in some places and slow in others. In certain extremely important key points, the antagonistic forces are already becoming unleashed for the conflict. The end of relative capitalist stabilization has come. But a directly revolutionary situation has not yet arisen in the important and decisive capitalist countries. What is taking place at the present moment is the *transition* to a new round of big clashes between classes and between States, a new round of wars and revolutions.

This transition, which in international relations is especially accelerated by the military aggression of Japan and France, is taking place in the form of an uneven process in the various countries. In Spain a revolution is taking place. In China there is a revolutionary situation, and a Soviet revolution has been victorious over a large territory. In Germany there is a tremendous sharpening of class anta-

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gonisms—on the one hand the growth of fascism, and on the other hand, the growth of the revolutionary mass struggle, the accelerated maturing of the prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis. Certain other countries are either approaching very closely to a revolutionary crisis (Poland), or, as a result of the extreme sharpening of antagonisms at home and abroad, may find themselves in the situation of a revolutionary crisis in the near future (Japan). In India and the Latin American countries the development of the revolutionary crisis is retarded, primarily by the low degree of organization of the proletariat and the immaturity of the Communist Parties. In all capitalist countries the forces of the international proletarian revolution are steadily growing, but in such important countries of world capitalism as the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, the upsurge of the revolutionary movement although developing, is still greatly lagging behind the high intensity of the whole international situation.

II. THE DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR, THE WAR OF JAPAN AGAINST CHINA, THE NEW PHASE IN THE PREPARATIONS FOR INTERVENTION AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

1. The fierce struggle the imperialists are waging for markets and colonies, the tariff wars and the race for armaments, have already led to the immediate danger of a new imperialist world war. French imperialism, in developing feverish activity in the struggle for hegemony on the European continent, is trying to strengthen its old military and political alliances and to form new ones (Danube Federation), but encounters the resistance of Germany, U.S.A. and Italy. Germany demands the equal status of an imperialist power (the annulment of reparations, equality of armaments, the revision of Eastern frontiers, etc.), while Poland is preparing to seize Danzig and East Prussia. Thus Germany is one of the main centres of the sharpest and most intense world imperialist conflicts.

2. The seizure of Manchuria by Japan and the attack on Shanghai have upset the compact that has hitherto existed between the U.S.A., Japan and Great Britain regarding the establishment of spheres of influence in China. Japanese imperialism, in alliance with France and with the actual support of England, is converting Manchuria into its colony and has thus put the armed struggle for the partition of China and intervention against the U.S.S.R. on the order of the day. The League of Nations, acting at the behest of France and England, supports Japan. The United States, in pursuing its imperialist aims in the Far East, openly threatens another race for

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armaments. The agglomeration of antagonisms in the Pacific form the chief hotbed for breeding a new imperialist world war.

3. For the purpose of *preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.*, under the cloak of the peace declarations of the League of Nations and the Second International there is proceeding the concentration of the Japanese army in Manchuria, the formation and arming of white guard units in the Far East, and also the organization of an expeditionary army in France, feverish preparations of the army in Poland, Rumania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland, and the strengthening and activization of specially selected fascist formations, unceasing provocation, etc. It is only the firm peace policy pursued by the U.S.S.R., and the fears the bourgeoisie entertain of the prospects of imperialist war being converted into civil war and of colonial uprisings, that restrain them from slipping into war and intervention.

4. Under these circumstances of rapidly approaching criminal war, especially hastened by fascism, the Communist Parties must, as an offset to the abstract and hypocritical pacifist statements of the social democrats, commence a real struggle against the preparations of war. The E.C.C.I. imposes the duty upon all Communist Parties to apply with the greatest persistence and energy the decisions of the Comintern on the question of struggle against imperialist war and intervention.

III. BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP, NATIONALISM, FASCISM AND SOCIAL FASCISM

1. The bourgeois dictatorship continues to undergo transformation in the direction of the further strengthening of political reaction and the fascization of the State and in this is revealing a contraction of the basis of bourgeois rule and manifestations of fissures and disintegration. The bickerings in the camp of the bourgeoisie frequently result in splits into hostile camps (Germany, Finland, Yugo-Slavia), in some cases—the assassination of prominent bourgeois politicians (Japan). As a rule, the bourgeoisie are finding it more and more difficult to smooth over the conflicts which arise among them.

In most capitalist countries, the big bourgeoisie are organizing fascist units for civil war, are making a system of political banditism, white terror, the torture of political prisoners, provocation, forging documents, the shooting down of strikers and demonstrators, the dissolution and suppression of the organizations of the workers. But while doing this, the bourgeoisie do not cease to utilise parliament and the services of the Social Democratic Party to deceive the masses.

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In Germany, in an atmosphere of sharpening antagonisms abroad and extreme tension in class relations at home, the von-Papen-Schleicher government, with the help of the Reichswehr, the "Steel Helmet," and the National Socialists has established a form of fascist dictatorship, for which the social democrats and the Centre prepared the way. The further development or breakdown of this dictatorship depends on the revolutionary struggle of the working class against fascism in all its forms.

In those countries where a fascist dictatorship existed before the world economic crisis, a *process* of disintegration of fascism is observed as a consequence of the growing revolutionary mass upsurge (Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Italy).

2. The destruction caused by the present world economic crisis, the breakdown of the economic contacts of world capitalism and the sharpening of the struggle for markets favor the spread of *nationalism and chauvinism* among the ruling nations. In Germany a wave of chauvinist sentiments and passions has arisen out of the hatred which has accumulated against the humiliating and predatory conditions of the Versailles peace treaty, and out of the impotent desire for "revenge" combined with fear of the prospects of the further decline and collapse of German capitalism. In France, chauvinism is cloaked by the slogan of "safety of the frontiers," in Great Britain, by the theory of "unity of the Empire," in Japan, by the Pan-Asiatic idea, in Italy, by the theory of over-population, etc. A stubborn struggle must be carried on everywhere for internationalism and against the dangerous ideology of chauvinism, and account must be taken of the peculiar character and the special forms of chauvinism in each separate country.

3. *Both fascism and social fascism* (social democracy) stand for the maintenance and the strengthening of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship, but from this position they each adopt different tactical views. In view of the fact that the position of the ruling bourgeoisie of every country is one of inherent contradictions at the present time, which compels them now and again to manœuvre between a course for determined struggle against their enemies at home and abroad, and the more prudent course, this inherent contradiction in the position of the bourgeoisie is also reflected in the difference in the positions taken up by fascism and social fascism. The social fascists prefer a moderate and "lawful" application of bourgeois class coercion, because they do not want to contract the basis of the bourgeois dictatorship; they guard its "democratic" drapings, and strive chiefly to preserve its parliamentary forms, for without these,

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the social fascists would be hampered in carrying out their special function of deceiving the *working masses*. At the same time, the social fascists restrain the workers from revolutionary action against the capitalist offensive and growing fascism, play the part of a screen behind which the fascists are able to organize their forces, and build the road for the fascist dictatorship.

4. To the extent that the economic policy of monopolist capital is adapted to the special conditions and difficulties of the economic crisis, *social democracy adapts its ideology* to the requirements of the crisis policy of the financial oligarchy. The social-democratic leaders are again unearthing their threadbare slogans of the *nationalization* of certain branches of industry. In reality, in capitalist countries, the nationalization of private enterprises is not increasing. On the contrary, state and municipal undertakings are being handed over to private capital. In those places where so-called state interference does exist, state subsidies and other government measures are employed, not for the purpose of establishing state control over private monopolies, but for the purpose of establishing the direct control of the private monopolists over the state. The leaders of the Second International not only disguise, but even give direct support to this policy of finance oligarchy (in the name of "Socialism"!) and invent new theories for its justification. They even draw up for the bourgeoisie ultra-reactionary schemes of forced labor and present these quack schemes as plans to establish Socialism under capitalism.

5 The mass influence of the social fascists has declined. For that very reason their manœuvres have become more energetic and varied (leading the strikes with the aim of throttling them, in some cases even demonstrative declaration of general strike, sham fight against fascism, for peace, in defense of the U.S.S.R., etc.). In these manœuvres particular zeal is displayed by the "left" social-democratic groups, who simultaneously carry on a frenzied campaign of slander against the Communist Party and the U.S.S.R. Only by taking fully into account the variety of the forms of the policy and manœuvres of the social fascists in all their concreteness will the Communists be able really to expose and isolate the social fascists. Only by directing the main blows against social democracy, this social mainstay of the bourgeoisie—will it be possible to strike at and defeat the chief class enemy of the proletariat—the bourgeoisie. And only by *strict differentiation between social-democratic leaders and workers* will the Communists be able, by means of the united front from below, to break down the wall which often separates them from the social-democratic workers.

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IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE AND THE PREPARATION FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. The growth of the revolutionary upsurge has become particularly evident since the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in the following countries:

China: A mass upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle, the development of the Soviet movement and great successes of the heroic Chinese Red Army. *Spain*: a rapid growth of the mass movement with the tendency to develop into a popular armed uprising. *Poland*: a wave of mass strikes, numerous militant actions by the peasants, and the rise of a new wave of the national revolutionary movement in the outlying regions of the country. *Germany*: an increase in the mass influence of the Communist Party; social-democratic workers, in spite of their leaders, have begun to resist the terror of fascist gangs. *Great Britain*: strike in the Navy; turbulent workers' demonstrations in Autumn 1931 and the strike movement in Lancashire. *Czecho-Slovakia*: general miners' strike in North Bohemia and a revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in Carpatho-Ukraine. *France*: big strikes in the North; disruption of the military air manœuvres. *U.S.A.*: big strikes and unemployed demonstrations, the march of the war veterans to Washington and the militant actions of the farmers. *Belgium*: the General Miners' strike, which is of foremost international importance. In most capitalist countries, the strike struggles were accompanied by fierce clashes with the police and strike-breakers. *Japan*: the militancy of the workers, peasants, soldiers and students has broken through the military and police terror. *India*: an increase of revolutionary unrest in the towns and villages and stubborn mass strikes. In many countries the struggles of the proletariat are interwoven with the mass revolutionary fights of the peasants.

2. During this period the Communist Parties have increased their strength. In Germany, the Party achieved great successes in the last Reichstag elections, and the anti-fascist struggle is developing under the leadership of the Party on the basis of the united front from below. A growth of the mass influence of the Communist Parties is observed in China, Poland and Bulgaria. In France, in spite of the fact that the Communist Party lost considerably in the parliamentary elections and that the membership of the Unitary Confederation of Labor has declined, there is a considerable upsurge of the revolutionary anti-war movement. In a number of countries (Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Finland) development is uneven as between district and district.

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Despite the weakness of the mass influence of Communist Parties in a number of countries, the Communists in all parts of the capitalist world, in numerous fights and trials, under conditions of merciless terror, have shown themselves to be courageous and truly revolutionary, advanced fighters of the proletariat.

3. The end of capitalist stabilization, the rapidly growing prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in a number of capitalist states, and the international situation in general, sharply raises the problem of solving the main task of the Communist Parties at the present time, i. e., of preparing the working class and the exploited masses, in the course of the economic and political struggles, for the impending fight for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely because little time remains before the revolutionary crisis matures is it necessary, without losing a moment, to *intensify and accelerate our Bolshevik mass work* to win over the majority of the working class, to increase the revolutionary activity of the working class. The opponents of the revolutionary movement have not yet lost the support of an enormous section of organized and unorganized workers, and this circumstance, which enables them to impede the revolutionization of the proletariat, constitutes the fundamental danger from the point of view of preparing for the victory of the proletariat. Hence the necessity for really carrying out the task of winning over the majority of the working class,—which was put in the forefront at the X and XI Plenums of the E.C.C.I.

4. The successful accomplishment of this task requires that every Communist Party shall establish, extend and strengthen *permanent and intimate contacts* with the *majority* of the workers, wherever workers may be found. For this it is first of all necessary: a) to organize on a sound basis constant Bolshevik work among non-Communist workers in the factories, in the reformist and other trade unions, and among the unemployed, and systematically to expose the treachery of the social-democratic and reformist leaders, and to win over the workers who have come under the influence of the fascists; b) to defend the everyday interests of the workers, to be able to respond to every attack of the class enemy, always putting forward *concrete slogans* as will effectively mobilize the masses for struggle; systematically to pursue the policy of the *united front from below*, to establish an alliance between the proletariat and the small farmers, to draw into the struggle the office workers and exploited sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat; c) *to strength the Communist Party itself*, by training cadres, who are closely connected with the masses and trusted by them.

5. In the practical work of our Parties it is necessary to put an

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end to a number of repeated weaknesses and mistakes which hinder the development of their mass work. The chief of these shortcomings and mistakes are as follows: most of our Party workers are isolated from the reformist and other non-Communist workers; work in the reformist unions meets with actual resistance; agitation is abstract and stereotyped, and this applies also to the press, and especially to slogans; there is a lack of ability to defend in a practical manner the vital interests of the workers and to take advantage of practical causes which specially excite the workers, for the purpose of organizing the activity of really broad masses, using various forms of the struggle according to the situation: there is a lack of bold application of the forms and methods of proletarian democracy for the purpose of building up the united front from below; and on the other hand, there is an opportunist slurring over of differences of principle when applying the tactics of the united front; there is a lack of ability to combine the struggle against the employers, the government and the fascists, with the struggle for winning the workers away from the influence of the social-fascist agents of the bourgeoisie; there are shortcomings and mistakes in the tactics and strategy of strikes; there is a lack of ability to develop the movement of the broad masses from comparatively elementary movements to higher and higher forms of struggle, big economic and political strikes and other revolutionary actions.

6. The XII Plenum emphasized the importance and the urgent necessity of overcoming these shortcomings and mistakes in the practice of the Communist Parties. There must be determined dissociation from Right opportunist "tailism" which frequently manifests itself in capitulatory moods, in disbelief in the possibility of revolutionizing the reformist working masses, and from "left" opportunist subjectivism which wishes to substitute for the necessary, difficult work of the Bolshevik education and mobilization of the masses and of really developing these struggles by the organization and the winning of the leadership of the everyday struggle of the workers and peasants by empty phrases about developing revolutionary struggles. The correct Bolshevik mass policy can be carried out only in an irreconcilable struggle against the Right opportunism as the chief danger and against "Left" deviations from the line of the Comintern.

The present situation is pregnant with unexpected outbreaks and sharp turns of events. This makes it necessary for every Communist Party to be prepared to change the forms and methods of struggle in the event of a rapid revolutionization of the situation, and if sufficient contacts with the masses are lacking, to secure in the process

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of the struggle itself, the establishment and strengthening of contact with the majority of workers.

V. THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE C. I.

1. The general task of the Comintern and its sections in all capitalist countries at the present time is to wage a concrete struggle: a) *against the capitalist offensive;* b) *against fascism and reaction;* c) *against the impending imperialist war and intervention in the Soviet Union.*

The proper conduct of this struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie is closely linked up with the *winning over of the majority of the working class,* the undermining and smashing of the mass influence of *social democracy.* The main link which the Communist Parties must seize upon in solving this problem is the struggle for the everyday economic and political interests of the broad masses against the increasing poverty, against oppression, violence and terror. This is particularly important in the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization, of the sharp contraction of the material basis of reformism and the cynical betrayal of the interests of the workers by social democracy, and when the struggle for the elementary needs of the masses brings the masses into conflict with the very foundations of the existence of capitalism. Only by relying on the struggle for the everyday interests of the masses can the Communist Parties defend and strengthen the position of the working class, and lead it up to ever higher forms of struggle and to the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the proper conditions for it exist, the preparation and calling of a mass political strike is one of the most essential and immediate links in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. It is necessary to conduct systematic propaganda about the proletarian dictatorship and to popularize the *Soviet Union,* where the proletariat is successfully building a classless socialist society.

2. The specific tasks of the major Communist Parties are as follows:

C. P. of Germany: To mobilize the vast masses of toilers in defense of their vital interests, against the bandit policy of monopolist capital, against fascism, against the emergency decrees, against nationalism and chauvinism, and by developing economic and political strikes, by struggle for proletarian internationalism, by means of demonstrations, to lead the masses to the point of the general political strike: to win over the bulk of the social-democratic masses, and definitely overcome the weaknesses of trade union work. The chief

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slogan which the C.P.G. must put forward to offset the slogan of the fascist dictatorship (the "Third Empire") and the slogan of the Social Democratic Party (the "Second Republic") is the slogan of the workers and peasants republic, i.e., Socialist Soviet Germany, which will guarantee the possibility of the voluntary affiliation of the people of Austria and other German territories.

C. P. of France: To turn its work in the direction of defending the interests of the workers and peasant masses (fight against wage cuts, for social insurance, for immediate relief for the unemployed, against the burden of taxes, etc.) and to link up this defense with the struggle against the Versailles system, against the subjection of Alsace-Lorraine and the colonies, and against the war policy of French imperialism. To re-orientate the Party, the Unitary trade unions and the Young Communist League in this direction; to overcome the sectarianism of its young cadres by persistent mass work, and re-educate them on the basis of a broad policy of elections and of winning the confidence of the rank and file masses, and patiently and tirelessly fight for the liberation of the syndicalist and socialist workers from their reformist, parliamentary and pacifist illusions.

C. P. of Poland: To widen the front of economic and political strikes; destroy the mass influence of the P.P.S., to lead the peasant activities throughout Poland; to overcome the weakness of the Party in the big factories, on the railroads and in the army. If suitable conditions arise, the Party must take the initiative in calling a general strike. It must mobilize the broad masses of town and country against the criminal policy of anti-Soviet war and conduct a persistent ideological struggle against the nationalist prejudices of the Polish workers, peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie.

C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia: To further develop economic and political struggles on the basis of the united front from below, linking up this struggle with the exposure of the role of the Czecho-Slovakian government as the tool of French imperialism. Intensify the struggle against social democracy, systematically overcome all tendencies towards passivity and "tailism," win the leadership of the struggles and organizationally consolidate the mass influence the Communist Party and the Red trade unions have won in the course of the struggles.

C. P. of Italy: The Party must come out from underground by developing the mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship on the basis of the defense of the everyday interests of the toilers, taking advantage of fascist meetings, organizing impromptu meetings in the factories, penetrating into the fascist trade unions, cultural and co-operative organizations, preparing and carrying on strikes and de-

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monstrations. Mass illegal work must be increased to the maximum extent.

C. P. of Spain: Steering a course for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants in the form of Soviets, the Party must create basic organizational strongholds for the mass movement of the toilers in the form of factory committees, unemployed committees, peasant committees, elected committees of soldiers; it must overcome sectarian aloofness and anarchist habits of work.

C. P. of Great Britain: A sharp turn must be made towards work in the reformist trade unions and in the factories, and to rouse the working masses, on the basis of the united front from below, for a struggle: 1. against the new capitalist offensive on the wages of the workers and unemployment insurance benefits; 2. against the government policy of supporting and encouraging the anti-Soviet aggression of Japanese and French imperialism; 3. for the independence of the British colonies and Ireland.

C. P. of U.S.A.: The American Party must mobilize the masses and concentrate chiefly on the struggle: 1. for social insurance, against wage cuts, for immediate assistance for the unemployed; 2. for assistance for the ruined farmers; 3. for equal rights for the Negroes and the right of self-determination for the Black Belt; 4. for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. It is necessary to carry out the decision on the turn in the work of the Party and the Trade Union Unity League.

C. P. of Japan: The Japanese Party has the task of transforming its struggle against war and the seizure of the territory of China into a real mass movement of the workers and peasants, linking it up closely with the struggle for the immediate needs of the masses. Workers' and Peasants' Self-Defense Committees and the combined action of villages must be organized against the forcible collection of rents and taxes from the peasants and the seizure of land from tenants; the Party must explain to the masses the necessity for a revolutionary struggle for the confiscation of the land of the landlords without compensation for the benefit of the peasants.

C. P. of China: 1. To mobilize the masses under the slogan of the national revolutionary struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists and for the independence and integrity of China; 2. to develop and unite the Soviet territories, to strengthen the Red Army; 3. to fight for the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime; 4. to pursue a resolute policy of converting the Red trade unions into mass organizations, to win over the workers belonging to the Kuomintang unions; 5. to develop the guerilla movement, putting forward in Manchuria slogans calling for the formation of peasant committees, for boycott-

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ing taxes and government decrees, for confiscating the property of the agents of the imperialists, for the establishment of an elected people's government; 6. the popularization of the achievements of the Soviet districts and the slogan of the fraternal alliance of the workers and peasants of China with the U.S.S.R.

C. P. of India: To strengthen the Communist Party, politically and organizationally; to train Bolshevik cadres, to wage a stubborn struggle in the reformist trade unions, develop a wide anti-imperialist front, to liberate the masses from the influence of the National Congress, to make agitational and organizational preparations for a general strike, to give the greatest possible support to the peasant movement for the non-payment of taxes, rent and debts, to popularize the basic slogans and tasks of the agrarian revolution.

3. In regard to *organization*, the chief tasks of the Sections of the C.I. are: a) carefully to conceal the Communist nuclei in the factories, combining this with fearless mass work; . . . . . ; c) to wage a determined struggle against provocation in all forms; d) to take measures to ensure that the Party can promptly pass to an illegal basis in case of necessity; e) to transform the Party press into real mass organs which must deal with all questions that concern the workers in simple language intelligible to the workers; f) there must be a thorough elimination from the leadership of all branches of Party work of *super-centralism*, of the mere issuing of orders. The maintenance of a big central apparatus while the local organizations are bereft of forces must not be permitted.

The E.C.C.I. insists on the Y.C.L. being converted into a real mass organization, and imposes on all the Communist Parties the duty of securing an improvement in the political mass work among the youth and the strengthening of the Party leadership of the work of the Y.C.L. Equally, the Comintern insists on the conversion of the sports leagues, and the I.L.D. (I.R.A.) into real mass organizations. Once and for all an end must be put to the underestimation of work among proletarian women, which is specially important at the present time. Working women must be mobilized on the basis of delegate meetings, this work to be regarded as general Party work. A chain of Party schools must be organized for the purpose of educating the newly recruited Party members and the new *cadres* who must also be drawn into the everyday revolutionary work among the broad masses.

Inner Party democracy, Bolshevik self-criticism, the discussion of the most important political problems in the lower Party organizations, concrete leadership of their work, all this must be the basis of

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all Party activity. This also is a necessary condition for strengthening iron Bolshevik discipline in the ranks of the Party.

A relentless struggle must be waged against all distortions of Marxism-Leninism, for the purity of Party theory in the spirit outlined in Comrade Stalin's letter. Propaganda must be carried on for the principles of Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet state.

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The crisis has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundations. In the Soviet Union, Socialism is achieving victories of world historic importance. The forces of social revolution are growing and rising the world over. But at the same time the attack of world counter-revolution is becoming fiercer. The imperialist governments are ready to plunge the nations into the most criminal of all criminal, predatory wars.

The Sections of the C.I. must answer this challenge of the world bourgeoisie by intensifying to the utmost their Bolshevik work, by hastening the revolutionization of the broad masses, developing and leading the class struggles of the toilers on the basis of the united front from below, by leading the working class to mass political strikes, winning over the majority of the working class and directing the whole movement of the exploited classes and the oppressed peoples along the channel of the World Socialist Revolution.

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The Great Divide

FIFTEEN YEARS OF BOLSHEVISM AND MENSHEVISM

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

FIFTEEN years ago the Bolsheviks began to translate the Marxist-Leninist theory into the practice of proletarian dictatorship. It was the first time (not counting the Paris Commune) that the old state machinery, the instrument of the class rule of the property owning classes, was destroyed and a new state machinery, the instrument of proletarian rule, was established. The parting of the ways between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, between the adherents of the Second International and the Third Communist International, which had begun even in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which came to a sharp expression at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903 and subsequently in the clashes of right and left at the congresses of the Second International, leading up to the great divide of 1914, when all the parties of the Second International were plunged by their leaders into the imperialist war on the side of their respective capitalist governments, with only the Bolsheviks in Russia and handful of left-wingers in Europe opposing the war and with the Bolsheviks retaining an actual Party organization even during the war, now, after the October Revolution, became the actual parting of the ways of two systems in operation. The Second International pointed one way; the Bolsheviks and the Communist International pointed the other way. The in Germany, Austria, Belgium, England, partly France; the Bolsheviks took the responsibility for conducting state affairs and for building up the entire social fabric over one sixth of the surface of the earth. International Menshevism proposed peaceful cooperation with the bourgeoisie, the use of bourgeois democracy as a means of achieving social change, and the peaceful "ingrowing" of Socialism into capitalism; the Bolsheviks proposed the expropriation of the expropriators, the use of the proletarian dictatorship as a means of ruthlessly suppressing the old ruling classes and of organizing an alliance between the workers and the poor and middle peasants and of building Socialism. The Mensheviks decried the Bolshevik undertaking as threatening with counter-revolution and undermining civilization; the Bolsheviks saw in the Mensheviks' activities an attempt Socialists took the responsibility for conducting the affairs of state

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at rescuing bankrupt capitalism. The Mensheviks became the shock troops of capitalism in the struggle against the U.S.S.R.

Fifteen years have passed. Both camps have been active. Both camps have put their theories into practice. What is the result?

In the capitalist world, the inherent contradictions of capitalism, ignored or glossed over by the Second International, have brought collapse and ruin. The crisis has entered its fourth year. Scores of millions of workers in the leading capitalist countries, millions upon millions of workers in the dependent and colonial countries, hundreds of millions of peasants the world over are deprived of the elementary means of livehood. Means of production are being destroyed. Enormous stores of ready-made goods are being annihilated because the owners think they can better guard their profits this way. The entire machinery of production is in a breakdown. In America, the richest country in the world, industrial production is about less than one half of what it was in 1928. Steel production is 80% below capacity. Farm industry is in utter ruin. Such boasted undertakings as the Ford plant, supposedly the great example of mass-production in modern industry capable of satisfying the wants of large masses of the population and securing a decent living for its employees, are only exhibiting the bankruptcy of the entire system. The Ford plant employs, at this writing, only 15,000 as against 125,000 three years ago.

In the political field the activities of the Second International have resulted in fascist dictatorships in a number of states. Italy, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland and recently Germany are entirely or almost entirely deprived of the "blessings" of parliamentary democracy, so beloved of the Second International. Fascist dictatorships exist with the open or tacit consent of the social-democratic parties. In the states where an appearance of democracy still exists, France, England, and the United States, fascist tendencies are on the increase and the reign of terror is supreme. In these states, as in the open fascist states, the social-democrats are cooperating with capitalism in fighting the revolutionary movement of the workers under Communist leadership and are thus aiding in the introduction of fascism.

In the field of international affairs, the Second International has been an active promoter of and participant in the League of Nations, which was heralded as an "instrument of peace." Under the League regime antagonisms between the imperialist powers, rivalries, bickerings and actual military clashes kept on increasing until we have the spectacle of a major imperialist power, Japan, attacking the people of weaker power, China, and seizing parts of its territory by the force of arms with the consent and sometimes cooperation of the League of

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Nations. Throughout all the world, armaments have increased enormously during the last fifteen years. The navies of 1914 look like toys compared with the navies of to-day, and all the international "disarmament" conferences and all the declarations of the leading powers about their "pacific intents" have been accompanied by actual preparations for the coming war. Among these wars, an attack upon the U.S.S.R. is given major consideration.

What is the status of the toiling masses in all these countries? In the first place, their standards of living have been lowered immensely. In the second place, huge masses are entirely deprived of the possibilities of making a living. In the third place, they are subjected to ruthless oppression, to bloody persecution, with their most active elements imprisoned, with tens of thousands killed every year. In the United States of America the number of persons arrested during the first nine months of 1932 for political reasons was a little less than seven thousand.

What about that portion of the globe which was putting into practice the Bolshevik plan?

The Soviet state had to pass through the most crucial difficulties before it could start the work of reconstruction. Wars, led by Russian generals on twenty fronts and supported by the former ruling classes, in 1918-1921; intervention by the Japanese, Americans and English in 1919 and 1920; economic blockade from 1917 to 1922; famine due to drought and to deteriorated agricultural machinery in 1921. A country devastated in consequence of four years of imperialist war and nearly five years of civil war had to be reconstructed by the new forces brought to power through the revolution.

What are the results?

The Soviet state is the most stable in the world. At a time when nearly every capitalist state has changed its government several times and is torn internally by class struggles and rising revolution, the Soviet power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is becoming more firmly established with every year. This is due to the fact that the proletarian dictatorship, to use the word of Lenin, "realizes a higher type of social organization of labor compared with capitalism." The proletarian dictatorship has been decried by the advocates of capitalism as "tyranny" and "oppression." In counter-distinction to the capitalist state which uses its power as a dictatorship of finance-capital under the cloak of democratic phrases, the proletarian dictatorship does not deny the fact that it is a power of suppression. "Dictatorship of the proletariat," says Lenin, "it not the end of the class struggle but it is its continuation in new form. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of a proletariat that has

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become victorious and that has taken political power into its hands against the bourgeoisie that is vanquished but has not been annihilated, has not disappeared, has not ceased offering resistance, has even increased its resistance." The proletarian dictatorship has been conducting, during those fifteen years, a ruthless struggle against the exploiters and later against the remnants of exploitation and exploiters. By the end of fifteen years of proletarian dictatorship, private property in the means of industrial production has been reduced to less than 5%, private property in the means of agricultural production to about 30%, with the prospect of the disappearance of even these remnants within a short time.

Proletarian dictatorship, however, is not only ruthless suppression of the enemy. It is at the same time a working and fighting alliance with those classes and groups that can be won for the revolution and for Socialism. Among these, the peasantry occupies the first place. The Menshevik counter-revolutionists predicted the collapse of the Bolshevik rule in consequence of its inability to make peace with the peasantry. A peasant revolt was ardently hoped for by the enemies every year. These hopes were frustated because only the proletarian dictatorship could satisfy the basic needs of the broad masses of the peasant population. "The highest principle of dictatorship," said Lenin, "is to maintain the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry in order that the proletariat may retain the leading role and the state power." This has been accomplished by the proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of the Communist Party. The alliance with the peasantry was kept up at various times under various slogans but for the same fundamental purposes. First it was an alliance to repel the counter-revolutionary generals who hoped to take away from the peasants the land seized during the revolution and to return it to the landlords; then it was an alliance with the poor and middle peasants against the rich, exploiting peasants, a life and death struggle against capitalist exploitation in the village; then it was an alliance of struggle against peasant backwardness against archaic methods of agricultural production, against sluggishness, primitivism, darkness and filth,—and all the time it was an alliance to struggle for modern methods of production, for a higher culture, for a decent human existance for all, which can be achieved only through the medium of large scale farming necessitating collectivization of small individual farms. Dictatorship of the proletariat, said Lenin, is not only force and violence, though it is not possible without force and violance, but it means also "a higher organization of labor than the organization that preceded it." This higher organization of labor has actually been effected by the proletarian dictatorship.

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Proletarian dictatorship, said Lenin, while being a force of suppression directed against the exploiting classes, must be "a state which is democratic in a new way, democratic for the proletarians and for the poor generally." The dictatorship of the proletariat is at the same time the highest and broadest democracy the world has ever witnessed. "Democracy under capitalism is *capitalist* democracy, it is the democracy of the exploiting minority resting on the limitations of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. Only under proletarian dictatorship real liberties for the exploited and a real participation of the proletarians and peasants in governing the country are possible. Democracy under the proletarian dictatorship is *proletarian* democracy, it is the democracy of the exploited majority resting on the limitation of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority." (Stalin).

It was due to the development of this new democracy that the achievement of the Soviet Union, the unprecedented growth of both economic production and cultural advancement was possible.

The achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of industry and agriculture are an open book. The national income of the Soviet Union which in 1928 amounted to 26.8 billion roubles (computed at the average value of 1926-1927), amounted in 1931 to 49.2 billion roubles and will surpass in 1932 the 60 billion mark. The increase in the production of industry alone was, in 1929, 34.3 percent, in 1930, 27.3 percent, in 1931, 42.9 percent. At a time when the national income of all the capitalist countries decreased catastrophically, the national income of the U.S.S.R. rose over 100 percent. We have grown so used to the tempo of industrial expansion during the last four years under the Five-Year Plan that even some Communists are becoming alarmed when they see that there is a difficulty here and there on the industrial front. We have accustomed ourselves to the idea that the Five-Year Plan is to be completed in four years, which is really being carried out, and we forget that when the great plan was first promolgated the capitalist and social-fascist "theorists" declared it utopian and predicted its total collapse. In the first six months of 1932, the output of large scale industry increased 19.5 percent compared with the first six months of 1931, and the output of heavy industry increased 25.5 percent for the same period. The output of electrical energy increased 42.2 percent, the production of electrical appliances increased 43 percent and the production of the machine-building industry increased 35 percent while the production of tractors increased 73 percent. The number of tractors produced in the Soviet Union from the beginning of the operation of the plants to September 1, 1932, was, in Stalingrad,

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37,200, in Charkov, 11,100, making a total of nearly 50,000. If we remember that Lenin, in 1920, declared that with 100,000 tractors the peasants could be converted to Communism, and we realize that there are more than 100,000 tractors working on the Soviet fields at present, we can appreciate the industrial progress that becomes possible with the abolition of the shackles of production for private profit.

There is much loose talk among the capitalist politicians and theoreticians about *planned capitalist economy.* Various plans have been advanced to organize capitalism. Most of them reduce themselves to one kind of fascist dictatorship or other. The fact remains, however, that during all these years of a devastating crisis, capitalism could not manage to organize itself and that all "discoveries" of panaceas to put production and distribution into equilibrium were either idle chatter as far as a return to former standards of production is concerned, or reduced themselves to cutting down production and destroying plant and equipment.

In the Soviet Union during 1932 over 100 new plants, 8 new blast furnaces and 5 open hearth furnaces were opened. In Magnitogorsk 2 new blast furnaces and in Kuznetsk also 2 new blast furnace were opened, marking the beginning of activities in this great combine of industrial establishments for the production of iron, steel, and chemicals. Some of the blast furnaces of Kuznetsk will be the largest in the world.

The number of workers in industry increased to nearly twenty million. The average monthly wage in industry as a whole increased over 23 percent in 1932, but the productivity of labor has not kept pace with the increase in wages and is behind schedule.

There were a number of "breaches in the front" of industrialization, expressed mainly in the insufficient increase of productivity of labor, in the insufficient development of railway transportation, which, in spite of an increase of over 27 percent in 1932, cannot keep pace with the requirements of freight and passenger traffic, in the falling of certain plants below schedule, among them the Stalingrad Tractor Plant and the Gorkygrad Automobile Plant, but these difficulties and many others are only ailments of growth. They are due (a) to the insufficient quantity of skilled labor, explained mainly by the fact that millions of peasants have been drawn into industry in a short time; (b) to unsatisfactory living conditions, which are explained mainly by the rapid expansion of industrial centers; (c) to the shortage of consumers goods, which is explained by the necessity of devoting major attention to heavy industry, particularly to iron, steel, coal, oil, electricity and machine building; (d) to the insuf-

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ficient number of skilled managers; (e) to the fact that Party leadership was not alert enough in one or the other section of the industrial field; (f) to the existence of "left" and right errors, which consisted in either trying to skip stages of development and assume wishes and resolutions for actual achievement, or in disbelief in the possibility of carrying out the programs, in failing to arouse initiative among the workers, in following a dead routine instead of trying to find ever new and better methods of work.

All these difficulties gave occasion to the enemies to speak about a crisis in the Five-Year Plan, but the facts belie all these declarations. The facts are that difficulties are being overcome, conditions are improving, the shortage of skilled labor is gradually diminished through the development of a vast number of technical schools with hundreds of thousands of technicians and skilled workers graduating every year; the housing shortage is being overcome by the rapid construction of hundreds of thousands of dwellings; the shortage of consumers' goods is combatted by turning an increasing amount of labor to light industry, which will satisfy the most fundamental wants of the population; bad management and absence of initiative is being corrected and new impetus is given everywhere both by the improved conditions and by the activities of the Communist Party, which, while fighting against the right and "left" deviations, is perfecting its leadership and steeling its ranks for work on a higher plane.

The Soviet Union is building a new society out of a human material taken over from capitalist society. It is carrying out the most gigantic program in the history of mankind among a hostile encirclement, and with enemies within trying to undermine the system. Shortcomings under such conditions are inevitable. Breaches in the front will occur here and there. But the foundation is firm. The leadership is monolythic. The line is correct. The forces of contruction are growing.

Fifteen years of proletarian dictatorship have shown the value of planning, the possibilities of planning. Planning in capitalist countries is impossible. Planning in the Soviet Union has yanked the huge country out of the mire of backwardness and poverty and is making it one of the most progressive countries economically.

Proletarian dictatorship is a working and fighting alliance between the proletariat and the poor and middle peasants. The proletariat is leading. The proletariat has organized its state form and has defended it against all enemies within and without. The proletariat is taking the hegemony in all the affairs of state. But all its activities are supported by the vast majority of the peasants because not only is

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there no class antagonism between the proletariat and the peasanty, but, on the contrary, all activities of the proletariat are directed to the improvement of the conditions of the peasants.

The fundamental question of raising the level of agricultural work so as to provide both village and city with food-stuffs and raw materials has been solved. To raise the level of agricultural production means to introduce modern planting, modern machinery, modern methods of cultivation, it means the application of science to agricultural labor. This is possible only in large-scale farming, and large scale farming has become a fact in the U.S.S.R. Seventy percent of the total land formerly held by the peasants is now combined in collectives. Great planned undertakings on the land are the prevailing type. It is true that agricultural production did not increase as fast as did industrial production—which is due in the main to the peculiar nature of the former, but with the introduction of new machinery, with new hundreds of thousands of tractors to be placed on the land in the near future, with the production of large amounts of fertilizer, with the development of higher skill among the peasants and with the increase of the number of scientifically trained agricultural experts, Soviet agriculture will be what it is organized to be: a rich source of the best fruit of the soil.

Have the collective farms been a success? The enemies of the revolution keep on harping on the shortcomings of the collectives. And there are many shortcomings, indeed. The collectives are a new phenomenon, untried anywhere else. A collective is a big economic undertaking, which requires capable management and scientific organization of labor, coupled with efficient accounting. This cannot be created within a short time. It requires experience, it requires trial and error. Most of the Soviet collectives are less than three years old. Many of them could not be sufficiently equipped with machinery due to the still prevailing shortage of agricultural implements and machinery which, in turn, is due to the fact that heavy industry had to be built from the bottom up. But the numerous facts of the existence of very successful collectives where the work is improving and the income of the members is accordingly rising and where difficulties prevailing in other collectives have been easily overcome, proves that all these difficulties are not of an objective but of a subjective nature. In other words, it shows that these difficulties can and will be overcome along the basic lines of development established by the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

A study of the collectives reveals an astonishing variety of stages of development, from very low ones where the work of organization has hardly begun and up to the highest types where the collective

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approaches rapidly the stage of a commune. Here is a collective where a proper division of labor was introduced, every man occuping his proper place— and where the productivity of labor has, in consequence, rapidly increased. Here is a collective where the various brigades (teams) have held production conferences, outlining the work of each and distributing among the members the various functions in a clearly defined fashion; here is a brigade, which during the stress of harvest fever, divided itself into "links," each link working as a continuation of the other, forming, so to speak, a conveyor system; here is a commune which had planned the work for the summer even during the winter; here is a collective which utilized both natural and artificial fertilizer in a scientific way,—and in all these cases the results express themselves in more food for the individual member, in better sowing for the future harvest, in a surplus to take care of the needs of the collective, cultural, educational and others, and in a sufficiency of ready cash for the purchase of commodities produced by industry. It is true that here and there the shortage of commodities has influenced the most backward elements among the individual peasants to refrain from doing their utmost in producing agricultural products; it is true that the enemies of the revolution still work hand in hand with the remnants of the propertied class in the village, the kulaks, to undermine the work of collectivization and to sow dissention in the existing collectives. But on the whole, considering the newness and the difficulties of the undertaking, *the collectivization of the farms has far exceeded all the most daring expectations of the most optimistic Bolsheviks of four years ago.* It must be remembered that according to the Five Year Plan the collectivization was to embrace, by 1933, between 18 and 20 percent of all the peasant farms. It has embraced *over* 60% of all the peasant farms.

The collectivization of the farms is one of the major achievements of the revolution in the last few years. It transforms the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, an alliance carried through civil war and the New Economic Policy, into an alliance of the proletariat with huge masses of toilers *who have already ceased being peasants* relying on individual production, but have become *collectivists* rapidly developing into some new type akin to workers with a prospect of finally dropping all characteristics that through history distinguished the toilers on the land from the workers in the shops and merging with the workers into one great mass of enlightened and organized toilers in a classless society. This classless society is now within sight. It will be in the main completed by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan.

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In the capitalist countries, bourgeois culture is in a stage of decay. There is not only a collapse of the economic system but also of bourgeois economics, bourgeois history, and bourgeois sociology. The theoreticians of capitalism are as helpless and as demoralized as the system itself. The class whose robberies all these "masters" of social science extolled has proved incapable of averting the greatest catastrophe in their history, as it has proved unable to drag their system out of the quagmire. Bourgeois art, bourgeois literature, the bourgeois theater are going through a crisis no less acute than that of the economic system. Hundreds of thousands of intellectuals are out of work. There is an "overproduction" of intellectuals as there is an "over production" of wheat and cotton and clothing, which in reality is not an overproduction but a decay, a rotting alive of the whole system, a lowering of the standards of living of the masses to the deepest depths of starvation. Overproduction of cultural forces in the capitalist countries means a rotting away of the whole cultural fabric of capitalist society.

As against this decay, there is a stupendous growth of cultural activity in the Soviet Union. There is a cultural regeneration the like of which the world has never seen. The school, the library, the reading room, the radio, the concert-hall have become an integral part of the life of every worker and every peasant throughout the vast land. Not only children, but adults are learning, developing, becoming cultured citizens of a new system. Where under the czar the number of students in the higher institutions of learning hardly exceeded one hundred thousand, the number of students in the Soviet Union, in 1930, was 1,143,000 and has risen in 1932 to 1,658,000—a number unequalled anywhere in the world. Whereas under the czar only a small fraction of children of school age could receive education, there is now a seat for every child of school age in the primary schools of the U.S.S.R. the number of pupils having risen from 11,600,000 in 1929 to 19,000,000 in 1932. In two years, the number of pupils of the secondary schools (technical and others) rose from 2,000,000 to 4,676,000. The number of pupils in the factory-trade schools that graduate skilled workers with a rounded general education is now over to 1,690,000.

The Soviet Union has become an immense laboratory developing modern methods of work, at the same time developing the new man. Not only are the Soviet workers and peasants learning how to produce, how to manage and how to govern, but in doing so they are rising to new levels of culture and developing into a new type.

This new type is *an intellectual worker,* or *a worker-intellectual,* one who has mastered a craft, who can work with his own hands,

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who, at the same time, has attained hights of cultural development, is versed in social and natural sciences, has developed his personality many sidedly and is perfectly adapted to his work and to his position in society.

The Soviet Union is rising to cultural heights unknown in history, rising not through a special group of privileged intellectuals as in the capitalist countries but through the whole mass of workers and peasants who advance their best forces to engage in every field of cultural endeavor, while moving collectively onward to a new collective, proletarian culture.

The lessons of the 15 years of Soviet life are manifold. The greatest of all lessons is that the line of the class struggle indicated by Marx and Engels, applied by Lenin to the present period of imperialism and carried through in the October Revolution, has proven correct, while the line advanced by the Mensheviks has proven disastrous to the working class and the peasant masses. The line of Marx and Lenin has been continued by the Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Stalin in the U.S.S.R., and by the Communist Parties and the Communist International the world over. The line of the Mensheviks is being carried out by the social fascists throughout the world, by the Menshevik counter-revolutionists trying to undermine the U.S.S.R., by the Socialist Party of the U.S.A. and by the Second International as a whole.

In the celebrations of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Revolution the workers will draw more energy and more enthusiasm for further struggles against capitalism and its social-fascist ally.

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Lenin's Writings Between the Two Revolutions of 1917*

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

THE LETTERS FROM AFAR

NEWS of the outbreak of the revolution, the establishment of Soviets in Petrograd and Moscow, the abdication of the Tsar and the formation of the bourgeois Provisional Government reached Lenin in Zurich, Switzerland, through the extra editions of the local newspapers on March 15, 1917. The following day he wrote to Alexandra Kollontai in Norway that "the 'first stage of the first revolution' bred by the war will be neither final nor confined to Russia" and observed that, although the workers, supported by the revolutionary soldiers, had carried through the revolution, state power was seized by the bourgeoisie according to "the same 'old' European pattern."

With great avidity Lenin absorbs all the news from Russia in the English, French and German papers he can lay his hands on and thinks of how speedily he can end his years of exile and return to the scene of action among the Petrograd workers where he began his revolutionary work more than twenty years before. On March 17 he writes again to Kollontai, making arrangements to obtain direct news from his co-workers in Russia, and completes the draft of the theses outlining his views on the revolution.

In his preliminary theses Lenin adjures his comrades to be prepared for the possible attempt to restore the monarchy and to consider the Provisional Government, which has "snatched" power from the proletariat, as having the same imperialist aims in the war as the Tsar's government. After making a class analysis of the government in power, showing that it is nothing but a government of capitalists and landowners, Lenin proves that it cannot give the masses what they expect from the revolution—peace, bread and free-

* For all Lenin's writings during this period, see his *The Revolution of* 1917 and *Toward the Seizure of Power,* Vols. XX and XXI of *Collected Works;* also Little Lenin Library, Nos. 8-13.

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dom. Only "a complete victory of the next stage of the revolution and the conquest of power by a workers' government" could secure the fruits of the revolution for the broad masses of the people.

Not unity with the vacillating and compromising parties active among the workers and peasants, but the building of a revolutionary Socialist party and a relentless struggle for the leadership of the continually rising revolutionary masses; not confidence in the Provisional Government, but a vigorous campaign of exposure of its true capitalist nature and imperialist aims—this is what Lenin insists upon in his first brief messages to the Bolsheviks in Russia. "Spread out! Arouse new strata! Awaken new initiative, form new organizations in every layer, and *prove* to them that *peace* can come only with the armed Soviet of Workers' Deputies in power," are Lenin's clarion call to his comrades-in-arms.

During March 20-April 8, Lenin wrote the famous five *Letters from Afar*. The first letter, "The First Stage of the First Revolution," reached Petrograd and was published in the *Pravda,* April 3-4, while the other four were published only after Lenin's death in 1924. This series of letters touched upon all the fundamental problems of the revolution and charted the course of its development. They carry the imprint of the genius that was Lenin—his Marxist clarity, acute revolutionary perception, abounding faith in the masses — foreshadowing who was to be the recognised organiser and leader of the Russian Revolution and the founder of the workers' state which covers one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The Russian Revolution has opened the epoch of the world proletarian revolution, Lenin informs the revolutionary workers of other countries. On April 8, the day of his departure for Russia, he pens his "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers" aimed to reach beyond the confines of the Swiss labor movement. The Bolshevik viewpoint of the nature of the Russian Revolution, the attitude toward the imperialist war, and the situation in the international Socialist movement are presented by Lenin. Written at the same time and dealing with the international significance and tasks of the Russian Revolution, the "Farewell Letter" may be considered complementary to the *Letters from Afar.*

THE APRIL THESES

Lenin arrived in Petrograd from his exile in Switzerland April 16, 1917. The following day he presented his views at a meeting of Bolshevik members of the national conference of Soviets of Workers'

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and Soldiers' Deputies in the form of theses published afterward under the title *The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution.* These theses, known in Bolshevik annals as the "April Theses," were in the main a succinct formulation of the views expressed in his *Letters from Afar.*

A more rounded out presentation of his position on the various national and international problems arising out of the Russian Revolution and the imperialist war, Lenin gave in *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,* written also in the form of theses and offered by him as a "platform of a proletarian party." The principles and tactics enunciated by Lenin in this "platform" guided the strategy and action of the Bolsheviks during the transition from the bourgeois revolution in March to the proletarian revolution in November.

Lenin met with opposition among some Bolsheviks particularly on the part of L. B. Kamenev, who disagreed fundamentally with his thesis regarding the nature of the revolution and the direction it must take. The question at issue was whether the bourgeois revolution had already completed its course and the prerequisites for its transition into the proletarian revolution were at hand. Lenin took up this basic point of difference in his "Letters on Tactics", which together with the other writings, served as the basic material for discussion on the eve of the national conference of the Bolshevik Party early in May at which the final policies and tactics were to be hammered out.

THE APRIL CONFERENCE

The publication of his views regarding the revolution and the role of the Bolshevik Party soon after his arrival in Russia, initiated a campaign of vilification and slander against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. All political groupings opposed to the Bolsheviks joined in this campaign. Plekhanov considered Lenin's programme "a nightmare" and insinuated pro-German views back of it. Others charged Lenin openly with being an agent of the Kaiser, using his return via Germany as a pretext. The fact that the Allies would not permit the return of political emigrants to Russia and that a large group of Mensheviks, including their leader, Martov, was also forced to travel through Germany, did not matter. The bourgeois and social-patriotic parties quickly realised the meaning of Lenin's programme and were bent on discrediting him before the masses and neutralising his influence.

In his own party, Lenin found serious opposition to his views. The

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day following the publication of his "Theses," Kamenev countered with his article, "Our Differences," in the *Pravda,* declaring the views expressed in the "Theses" "unacceptable" and that Lenin spoke for himself and not for the Party. The Petrograd Committee of the Party voted overwhelmingly against the "Theses." The Moscow Committee under the leadership of Rykov, Nogin and others followed suit. Lenin's own theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution formulated by him on the eve of the 1905 Revolution was used as an argument against his views on the nature of the 1917 Revolution.

To convince the Party and through it the Russian proletarian masses of the correctness of the analysis and tactics which he proposed was obviously Lenin's major and immediate task. Within two weeks, the delegates at the Petrograd City Conference of the Party were ready to accept his views and use them as a basis for their decisions.

The following week the National Conference took place with 151 delegates attending and representing about 80,000 members enrolled in Bolshevik organisations throughout the country. Although the leading opponents still held to their views, which they presented fully to the delegates, Lenin's estimate of the moving forces of the revolution and the tasks of the revolutionary proletarian party triumphed and became the position of the Party.

History worked for Lenin. Every act of the Provisional Government, every policy enunciated by the vacillating leadership of the Soviet, every unfolding event gave substance and meaning to Lenin's contentions. When the National Conference met May 7-12 (April 24-29, *old calendar*), a marked turning point in the course of the revolution had already been registered by the events of May 3-4. The May First demonstration in Petrograd—the first May Day after the overthrow of the Tsar—was a tremendous outpouring of masses, parading under revolutionary slogans. Foreign Minister Milyukov, spokesman of the victorous bourgeoisie, chose this day to declare to the Allied governments that the Provisional Government would carry on the war to a "decisive victory" and that it would live up to all agreements and promises. For the revolutionary masses this meant that the bourgeoisie would continue the war until the imperialist aims agreed upon by the Tsar's government had been realised. May 3-4 witnessed huge protest demonstrations of workers and soldiers against the Provisional Government which were attacked by a counter-demonstration of reactionary elements called into the streets by the political groupings supporting the Provisional Government and favouring the continuation of the war.

The nature of the Provisional Government, the existing class rela-

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tions, the role of the petty bourgeoisie, the temper of the masses—all appeared in bold relief during the first week of May and served as practical illustrations as Lenin was making his reports to the National Conference. Lenin's "platform" (*The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*), was the starting point for his own reports and the discussions which ensued. On only one question—the relation to the Zimmerwarld Union—the Conference did not follow entirely Lenin's position; otherwise all the decisions of the Conference took as their basis Lenin's formulations outlined in his "platform."

Lenin delivered the main report on the political situation, with Kamenev making a co-report, presenting the views of the opposition. In addition, Lenin reported on the war, on the agrarian question and on the revision of the Party programme. He also made speeches on the national question, reported upon by Stalin; on the calling of an international Socialist Conference, reported upon by Nogin; on the situation in the International, reported upon by Zinoviev, as well as speeches in favour of resolutions on the political situation and the war.

The April Conference was a necessary landmark in the life of the Bolshevik Party and the course of the Russian Revolution. At this Conference Lenin's policies became the policies of the Party. Armed with them and under his continuous guidance the Bolshevik Party understood the nature of the revolution and found the road to its ultimate victory.

ON FIGHTING ECONOMIC RUIN

Peace, bread and freedom were the gains which the broad masses of the people, according to Lenin, hoped to realise as a result of the revolution of March, 1917. Instead of peace, the government first promised to live up to the imperialist pacts made at the beginning of the war and then made good the promise by ordering an offensive at the front in July. The debacle which followed cost the lives of nearly half a million soldiers in two weeks of wholesale slaughter.

Lenin and many other Bolshevik leaders were either living in hiding or in prison, or were under constant threat of arrest; demonstrations of workers in protest against the continuation of the war were fired upon by detachments of military cadets or Cossacks loyal to the government; the *Pravda* and other Bolshevik publications were continually being raided or closed—such was the freedom enjoyed by the militant workers who fought in the revolution.

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As for bread, hunger was stalking throughout the land and economic ruin was enveloping the entire country. Industry and agriculture were going through the severest crisis; factories, shops and mills were closing in rapid succession, causing widespread unemployment; transportation was constantly becoming more disorganised and food was getting scarcer every day. The absence of a firm policy to deal with profiteering, which was rampant under the aegis of the government, was adding to the privation and misery of the people.

Lenin foresaw such a situation under the bourgeois government and in his "April Theses" demanded "the immediate placing of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in control of social production of goods." But the regulation of prices and of distribution of available supplies was, with the consent of the vacillating leadership in the Soviet, left with the bureaucratic governmental apparatus. With the government in the hands of the capitalists, such guaranties against hoarding and price boosting as may have been provided, remained on paper, and the necessaries of life continued to yield fabulous prices to the profiteers.

The creeping economic paralysis could be fought off only with the revolutionary measures proposed by Lenin and developed fully in his pamphlet, *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It,* which he wrote late in September. The capitalists would be deprived of a good share of their profits, but a minimum of supplies would be guaranteed to the people through the control of production and distribution of commodities and the husbanding of resources by democratic organisations of the masses which Lenin proposed should be elected by the workers in the shops and factories.

But to completely save the country from economic ruin, Lenin held, power must pass into the hands of the workers in alliance with the poor peasants. With that accomplished, the country could not only come out of the crisis, but could also "catch up with the advanced countries and surpass them also *economically*"—almost a verbatim formulation of the slogan of the Five-Year Plan. The conquest of power by the proletariat could insure the proper organisation of the national economy in the interest of the entire population. According to Lenin, the road toward the efficacious regulation of economic life in the interest of the broad masses, was the road to Socialism.

But four months before this Lenin warned in his article "Unavoidable Catastrophe and Boundless Promises" about the growing economic ruin and proposed a method of fighting it.

The Bolsheviks were accused of fomenting civil war and endangering the revolution. In his article "The Russian Revolution and

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Civil War," Lenin reviews the spontaneous mass movements of the workers and soldiers on May 3-4 (against the declaration of the government to carry on the war with the same imperialist aims as those of the Tsar's government), on July 16-17 (against Kerensky's offensive with the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of soldiers), and on September 9-14 (to liquidate the counter-revolution led by General Kornilov whom Kerensky made Commander-in-Chief of the armies and used as the main prop of his government). Each of these mass movements registered the development of the revolution to higher stages, with Bolshevik slogans coming more and more into prominence and the Bolshevik Party being accepted by the masses as the leader and organiser of their struggle to secure the fruits of the revolution wrested from them by the bourgeoisie.

WILL THE BOLSHEVIKS DARE TO TAKE POWER?

Lenin was consciously and deliberately preparing the Bolshevik Party for the overthrow of the Kerensky regime and the transfer of power to the Soviets, which were rapidly changing their composition and becoming Bolshevik Soviets. His letter to the leading committees of the Bolshevik Party written September 25-27, "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power," places the question of the uprising definitely on the order of the day. The process of *proving* to the workers, of *convincing* them of the correctness of the Bolshevik analysis of the situation and the proposed program of action—a procedure which Lenin advised at the outset—was being completed with the aid of the events which transpired from March to September. The masses were showing their grasp of the situation by deserting the petty-bourgeois parties (Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, etc.), by acclaiming the Bolshevik slogans, by voting for Bolsheviks to the Soviets in larger and larger numbers.

Realising the certainty with which the Bolsheviks were marching toward the decisive struggle for power, the various petty-bourgeois parties, and particularly the group which claimed to stand in close proximity to the Bolsheviks (the group represented by the *Novaya Zhizn,* published by Gorky) were warning the Bolsheviks against "endangering the revolution." Two main questions were raised by them which had to be disposed of: Will the Bolsheviks dare to attempt to take power, and if they do and succeed in taking power, will they be able to hold it? These questions were completely answered in the essay *Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*

Lenin goes hammer and tongs after those whom he derisively called "quarter Bolsheviks," smashing their arguments one after an-

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other. The workers are isolated from the rest of the population, the new power could not withstand the opposition which will be marshalled against them—were the chief obstacles which the Bolsheviks could not overcome, according to the leaders of the *Novaya Zhizn* group, whom Lenin designated as "lawyers of the bourgeoisie." Fact by fact, argument by argument, Lenin builds up his case against the "quarter Bolsheviks" and all those faint of heart and blurred of vision. The demands for land for the peasants, freedom for the subject nationalities and the universal urge for peace, made the struggle of the workers and poor peasants a common one. The experience of putting down the Kornilov counter-revolution was a dress rehearsal and augured well for the ability of the masses to deal with any counter-revolution which might raise its head, and later history proved this contention to the hilt.

TOWARD THE SEIZURE OF POWER

The ever deepening crisis of power, the sharpening economic disorganisation in the country and the continuing disintegration of the petty-bourgeois parties which were losing their mass following to the Bolsheviks, led Lenin to declare at the end of September, 1917: "We have before us all the objective prerequisites for a successful uprising." From this point on he pressed with determination for the commencing of the necessary preparations for the seizure of power. At this critical period, however, he was deprived of personal participation in the work of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party where the final decisions regarding the armed uprising had to be made. Living in hiding on a strictly conspirative basis, Lenin, nevertheless, carried on an energetic correspondence with the Bolshevik leaders in Petrograd, presenting his views on every important phase of the question of the uprising.

At the beginning of the revolution Lenin had to wage a struggle against some leading Bolsheviks for a correct appraisal of the nature of the revolution and the role of the Bolshevik Party. Similarly, when the revolution had reached the stage which made the realisation of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" a certainty, Lenin again encountered an opposition which he had to overcome to save the Party from making the historical blunder of missing the propitious moment for the transfer of power to the Soviets.

In his communications to the Central Committee after the liquidation of the Kornilov revolt, Lenin insisted upon a decision in favour of the uprising, but final action was being delayed because of the division of opinion in the committee. Not until the meeting of the

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Central Committee on October 23, with Lenin attending, was final decision taken. Lenin reported on the timeliness of the uprising, showing that the Bolsheviks had secured the majority among the workers, that the peasants were rising throughout the land, while at the same time Kerensky was plotting to behead the revolution by turning over Petrograd to the Germans. In the resolution, which he wrote, Lenin declared that "armed uprising was inevitable and has fully matured." The resolution was adopted with Kamenev and Zinoviev voting against it, while Stalin and others energetically supported Lenin.

In his letter "Marxism and Uprising" written September 26-27, Lenin answers the charge that the Bolsheviks were Blanquists, explains why the uprising during the July days would have been premature, while the Kornilov revolt and its defeat have helped to mature the situation. He also argues for Marx's conception that "uprising is an art" and that it must be treated as such. In his other letters Lenin polemizes against Kamenev and Zinoviev and their following, particularly against their policy of watchful waiting and against their conception of the role of the Bolshevik Party as the Left Wing in the Constituent Assembly when the latter is convened. With devastating criticism he argues against their contentions that the Bolsheviks were isolated and not strong enough alone to undertake the uprising; that the Germans were not threatening Petrograd and the bourgeoisie would not dare to sacrifice it; that it would be better to wait until the counter-revolution started and then "show them"; that the revolutionary stirrings in other warring countries were yet of small consequence and uprising in Russia could not aid them, but on the contrary, injure them, if it were not successful; that Petrograd had provisions only for two or three days and that the insurrection would be starved out; that the soldiers might turn against the Bolsheviks if peace was not secured after the seizure of power; and, above all, that the masses were not in the mood to go into the streets to fight for power. The opposition, which still clung to their theory that the bourgeois-democratic revolution had not run its course, warned that the attempted uprising would spell disaster to the Party and arrest the progress of the revolution.

Only one week was required to completely demolish the defeatist arguments of Kamenev and Zinoviev. Lenin was at the helm and he was steering the revolution on its appointed course and the Bolshevik Party toward the fulfillment of its supreme task and duty to the Russian and international proletariat. On November 6th he wrote that "under no circumstances is power to be left in the hands of Kerensky and Co. until the 7th, by no means!—but that the mat-

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ter must absolutely be decided this evening or tonight."

Having mastered the lesson that "uprising is an art," and having carried through the necessary preparations, the various Bolshevik organisations moved with military precision at the command of the helmsman, and power was transferred to the representatives of workers, soldiers and peasants, before the dawn of the 7th. The Military Revolutionary Committee which was in temporary control, turned over all state power to the 2nd Congress of Soviets, which opened that day. The Soviet Government was formed, with Lenin as head of the first Socialist Soviet State.

The Bolshevik Party, first the leader of the advanced section of the working class, became the acknowledged political leader of the Soviet Republic. Steeled in the October days, it guided the country through counter-revolution, famine, economic ruin, and sabotage, to victory over all the internal enemies of the revolution, to proletarian dictatorship—the foundation for the building of Socialism and for the establishment of a classless society.

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Lenin on the Eve of October

IN connection with the Fifteenth Anniversary of the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, we reprint below two letters written by Lenin showing his leadership in the preparation and carrying out of the uprising and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. The first article—an open letter addressed to the membership of the Bolshevik Party—took up the opposition to the uprising led by Kamenev and Zinoviev and the open sabotage of the decisions of the Central Committee which Lenin compared to strike-breaking. The second letter, sent to the Central Committee on November 6, gave definite directions to proceed to carry out the planned uprising that day. For a fuller discussion of the place of Lenin's writings in shaping the policies and tactics which directed the course of the revolution see Comrade Alexander Trachtenberg's article in this issue, "Lenin's Writings Between the Two Revolutions of 1917," which serves as an introduction to the reprint of Lenin's historic letters penned on the eve of October. THE EDITORS.

* * * *

LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

COMRADES!

I have not had a chance yet to receive the Petrograd papers for Wednesday, October 31. When the full text of Kamenev's and Zinoviev's declaration, published in the non-party paper, the *Novaya Zhizn,* was transmitted to me by telephone, I refused to believe it; but it is impossible to doubt, and I am compelled to take the opportunity to transmit this letter to the members of the Party by Thursday evening or Friday morning, for it would be a crime to keep quiet in the face of such unheard-of *strike-breaking.*

The more serious the practical problem, and the more responsible and "outstanding" the persons committing the strike-breaking, the more dangerous it is, the more decisively must the strike-breakers be thrown out, the more unforgivable it would be to hesitate even in view of past "services" of the strike-breakers.

Just think of it! It is known in Party circles that the Party has been discussing the question of the uprising since September. Nobody has ever heard of a single letter or leaflet by either of these persons! Now, on the eve, we may say, of the Congress of Soviets,

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two outstanding Bolsheviks take a stand *against* the majority, and, obviously, *against* the Central Committee. They do not say this directly; and therefore the damage to the cause is still greater, for it is more dangerous to speak by hinting.

From the text of Kamenev's and Zinoviev's declaration it is perfectly clear that they have taken a stand against the Central Committee, for otherwise their declaration would be absurd, however, they did not say *which* decision of the Central Committee they disputed.

Why?

Quite obviously: because it has not been published by the Central Committee.

What is it, then, that we have here?

Dealing with a burning problem of the highest importance, on the eve of the critical day of November 2, two "outstanding Bolsheviks" attack an *unpublished* decision of the Party centre in the *non*-Party press, in a paper which as far as this given problem is concerned, goes *hand in hand with the bourgeoisie against the workers' Party!*

Obviously, this is a thousand times meaner and a *million times more harmful* than were all the writings of Plekhanov in the non-Party press in 1906-1907, which were so sharply condemned by the Party! But at that time it was a question only of elections, while now it is a question of an uprising for the purpose of conquering power!

And with such a question before us, *after* the center has made a decision, to dispute this *unpublished* decision before the Rodzyankos and Kerenskys in a non-Party paper—can one imagine an action more treacherous, more strike-breaking?

I would consider it a shame if, in consequence of my former closeness to those former comrades, I were to hesitate to condemn them. I say outright that I do not consider them comrades any longer, and that I will fight with all my powers both in the Central Committee and at the congress to expel them both from the Party.

For a workers' Party, which life confronts ever more often with an uprising, cannot solve this difficult problem if unpublished decisions of the center, after they have been accepted, are disputed in the non-Party press, and vacillations and confusion are brought into the ranks of the fighters.

Let the gentlemen, Zinoviev and Kamenev, found their own Party out of dozens of people who have grown confused, or out of candidates for the Constituent Assembly. The workers will not join such a Party, for its first slogan will be:

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"Members of the Central Committee, defeated at the meeting of the Central Committee on the question of decisive conflict, may go to the non-Party press to make attacks there on the unpublished decisions of the Party."

Let them build such a Party for themselves; our Party of Bolsheviks will only gain from it.

When all the documents are published, the strike-breaking activities of Zinoviev and Kamenev will stand out still more clearly. In the meantime let the following question engage the attention of the workers:

"Let us assume that the administration of an all-Russian trade union has decided, after a month's deliberation and with a majority of over eighty per cent, that it is necessary to prepare for a strike, without, however, publishing in the meantime the date or anything else. Let us, further, assume that, *after* the decision, two members under the fraudulent pretext of a 'dissenting opinion,' have not only begun to write to the local groups urging a reconsideration of the decision, but that they have also allowed their letters to be communicated to the *non*-Party papers. Let us, finally, assume that they themselves have in the non-Party papers attacked this decision, although it has not been published as yet, and that they have begun to denounce the strike before the eyes of the capitalists. Would the workers hesitate in expelling from their midst such strike-breakers?"

As to how the uprising question stands now, so near to November 2, I cannot judge from afar how much damage was done to the cause by the strike-breaking action in the non-Party press. Very great *practical* damage has undoubtedly been caused. To remedy the situation, it is first of all necessary to re-establish the unity of the Bolshevik front by excluding the strike-breakers.

The weakness of the ideological arguments against the uprising will be the clearer, the more we drag them out into the open. I have recently written an article about this in the *Rabochy Put,* and if the editors do not find it possible to put it in the paper, the members of the Party will probably get acquainted with it from the manuscript.

These so-called "ideological" arguments reduce themselves to the following two. First, they say, it is necessary to "wait" for the Constituent Assembly. Let us wait, they say, maybe we will hold out—this is the whole argument. Maybe, despite famine, despite economic ruin, despite the fact that the soldiers' patience is exhausted, despite Rodzyanko's step towards surrendering Petrograd to the Germans (even lock-outs), we will hold out.

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Perhaps and maybe—this is all the force of this argument.

The second is noisy pessimism. Under the bourgeoisie and Kerensky, they say, everything was going on well; with us, everything will be bad. The capitalists have everything prepared wonderfully; the workers have everything in bad shape. The "pessimists" shout all they can about the military side of the matter, while the "optimists" keep silent, for it is hardly pleasant to anybody outside of the strike-breakers to reveal anything to Rodzyanko and Kerensky.

Hard times. A grave problem. A grave betrayal.

And still, the problem will be solved, the workers will become consolidated, the peasant uprising and the extreme impatience of the soldiers at the front will do their work! Let us close our ranks more firmly—the proletariat must win!

* * * *

LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

COMRADES!

I am writing these lines on the evening of the 6th. The situation is extremely critical. It is as clear as can be that delaying the uprising now really means death.

With all my power I wish to persuade the comrades that now everything hangs on a hair, that on the order of the day are questions that are not solved by conferences, by congresses (even by Congresses of Soviets), but only by the people, by the masses, by the struggle of armed masses.

The bourgeois onslaught of the Kornilovists, the removal of Verkhovsky show that we must not wait. We must at any price, this evening, tonight, arrest the Ministers, having disarmed (defeated if they offer resistance) the military cadets, etc.

We must not wait! We may lose everything!

The immediate gain from the seizure of power at present is: defense of *the people* (not the congress, but the people, in the first place, the army and the peasants) against the Kornilovist government which has driven out Verkhovsky and has hatched a second Kornilov plot.

Who should seize power?

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At present this is not important. Let the Military Revolutionary Committee seize it, or "some other institution" which declares that it will relinquish the power only to the real representatives of the interests of the people, the interests of the Army (immediate offer of peace), the interests of the peasants (take the land immediately, abolish private property), the interests of the hungry.

It is necessary that all the boroughs, all regiments, all forces should be mobilized and should immediately send delegations to the Military Revolutionary Committee, to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks, insistently demanding that under no circumstances is power to be left in the hands of Kerensky and Co. until the 7th, by no means!—but that the matter must absolutely be decided this evening or tonight.

History will not forgive delay by revolutionists who could be victorious today (and will surely be victorious today), while they risk losing much tomorrow, they risk losing all.

If we seize power today, we seize it not against the Soviets but for them.

Seizure of power is the point of the uprising; its political task will be clarified after the seizure.

It would be a disaster or formalism to wait for the uncertain voting of November 7. The people have a right and a duty to decide such questions not by voting but by force; the people have a right and duty in critical moments of a revolution to give directions to their representatives, even their best representatives, and not to wait for them.

This has been proven by the history of all revolutions, and the crime of revolutionists would be limitless if they let go the proper moment, knowing that upon them depends the *saving of the revolution,* the offer of peace, the saving of Petrograd, the saving from starvation, the transfer of the land to the peasants.

The government is tottering. We must *deal it the death blow* at any cost.

To delay action is the same as death.

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The Capitalist Offensive and the Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis

By BILL DUNNE

THE immediate task set for itself by our Party, the organization on a nation wide scale of a whole series of struggles against the effects of mass unemployment—against evictions, for decent relief, against discrimination against Negroes, etc.—culminating in a National Hunger March and the holding of a Workers Congress in Washington, supporting the Farmers' National Relief Conference, supporting the Veterans Bonus March, the organization of nation-wide mass struggle for unemployment insurance and strike struggle against wage cuts, that is, the organization and leadership of the *mass struggle against the capitalist offensive,* especially imperialist war, necessitates a thorough examination and understanding of the tactics of the capitalists and their government at the present moment.

The drive against the living standards of the American working class has taken on a sharper form in the last two months coincident with the efforts of the capitalists to create a belief that "business has turned the corner" by inflationary methods, hypodermic injections of huge sums into the stock market and a well-organized campaign of publicity featuring anything and everything that can be interpreted in an optimistic manner.

The increase in stock market prices which began in July-August continued until the latter part of September when more than 50% of the price gains were wiped out. The period of increased stock prices received the name of the "Hoover market" but *all* sections of the capitalist press and other publicity agencies were and are involved in the effort to show business "on the upgrade."

Meanwhile heavy industry continued to decline or scrape along at the same low levels. (The steel industry, in its figure for unfilled tonnage in the last week in September actually included *expected* orders for tinplate *up to the first of next year* in order to show an

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increase in business. Such falsifications are by no means unusual now but are harder to check up in other industries.)

The noisome aftermath of the Insull bankruptcy disclosing the participation of leading capitalists and capitalist politicians in this gigantic swindle, and the receivership of S. W. Straus and Co.,—the largest mortgage investment house in the country—dealt severe blows to capitalist morale.

Unemployment continued to increase but the sums available for relief in the treasuries of the "welfare agencies" continued to decrease. Relief was cut drastically throughout the entire country. The director of the relief agencies in New York City was compelled *to admit that there were at least* 1,150,000 *totally unemployed in that city alone. On this basis the figures of unemployment in the country had to be revised upwards.* It is clear that there now are 15 to 16 million jobless in the United States.

Official optimism continues to reflect itself in headlines and inspired news and articles in the press. But organized by the Unemployed Councils and the trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League, with the militant oppositions in the A. F. of L. unions playing an increasingly important part, led by our Party, there is growing a huge mass movement, in which new forms of the united front are constantly appearing, for cash winter relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and employers.

Alarmed by this and the mounting treasury deficit (*now a billion dollars in the first five months of the fiscal year*) and by the failure of decisive industry to respond with even a semblance of revival to sums totaling close to $2,000,000,000 loaned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to banks, industrial corporations, railways and credit concerns, the government of finance-capital is attempting to saddle still more of the burden of the crisis upon the working class.

The sharpened offensive is proceeding by a number of steps—some of them new, some of them an intensification and extension of measures already in force.

First of all is the "share-the-work" plan which originated in the fertile brain of Walter C. Teagle, head of the Standard Oil of New Jersey. This plan fits in perfectly with the demagogic slogan of the A. F. of L. leadership—"a 6-hour day and 5-day week"— with reductions in pay, although the bureaucrats fail to mention this feature of it.

The Teagle plan is an extension of the stagger plan. It has been endorsed without reservation by President William Green. It affects directly workers who had not yet been placed on the stagger plan—as was the case in plants of the Standard Oil. The reason for

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the delay in putting the stagger system into effect in such plants was the fear of the employers that it would cut down production per man. But recent announcements that 30,000 Standard Oil employees have been put on the five-day week with reduction in pay of sixteen and two-thirds per cent show that any decrease in output as a result of the plan has been overcome by new speedup methods.

The New York *Times* recently published a letter from a plant manager to Teagle stating the share-the-work plan has not interfered with production.

In plants where the workers are already on the stagger system further reduction of working time is made and additional workers placed on the payroll.

In this manner workers reduced to the pauper level by wage cuts and the stagger system are forced to contribute still more to unemployment relief, thus cutting down the amount the employer might otherwise pay over to the relief organizations. The condition of the new employee is not bettered and the living standard of the old employee is reduced.

But the material saving to the capitalists made by the share-the-work scheme is small compared to the value of the enormous publicity in connection with it, designed to create the double illusion of solicitude of the employers for workers' welfare, and the possibility of solving the question of unemployment relief by sharing jobs.

The 33-1/3% wage cut by Ford, whichput the daily wage back to the 1914 basis, is not in contradiction with the share-the-work plan. It represents the next step in the capitalist offensive—wage cuts of the most drastic character as soon as the workers employed under the share-the-work scheme have become "adjusted" to the lower living standard it forces upon them. Ford as usual is slightly ahead of his fellow capitalists.

Second, is the re-organization of relief machinery with Newton D. Baker, Democratic Party leader and Secretary of War under Wilson, at the head, replacing Gifford, Republican. The collection and distribution of relief is placed under the jurisdiction of the Community Chests—the local permanent relief organizations which are dominated by the big employers and bankers and by the chambers of commerce.

The purpose of bringing in Baker is to unite openly the two big capitalist parties in the drive against the unemployed especially in this presidential election year when differences on tactics might interfere somewhat with various features of the capitalist offensive.

With organic unity of Democrat and Republican forces secured by the appointment of Baker to head the drive for quelling mass anger

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by the means of stinking, stingy and capitalist-controlled charity, Al Smith gave the line for Roosevelt and the other Democratic candidates in *The New Outlook,* warning them of the danger of unskillful demagogy:

> "We should stop talking about *the forgotten man and about class distinction.* There is no other country in the world where individual initiative counts for so much, *where opportunities to rise are so great,* and *where class prejudice is so unimportant.* In no other country is there so little evidence of economic class hatred, so little encouragement to the Communist, the Fascist, or the Junker and *such responsible, far-sighted and loyal leadership of labor.*
>
> Just now *all* of our people are in trouble. The *old rich are the new poor.* What is needed in the crisis of today is *the united, cooperative effort of all good citizens of whatever class or creed* to fight our way out of the bog of depression to the solid ground of good American enterprise and prosperity.
>
> The Forgotten Man is *a myth* and *the sooner he disappears from the campaign the better it will be for the country.*"
>
> ——*The New Outlook* for October.

Giving full charge of relief work to the Community Chests has the purpose of strengthening the *local* machinery for disrupting and suppressing the struggle of the unemployed; of emphasizing, as the New York *Herald Tribune* did editorially recently, the "local" nature of the "causes and effects of unemployment," and the Community Chests, as the instruments of the banks and employers in each center, for hampering the development of the struggle for decent relief and unemployment insurance on a national scale; of *localizing* the whole question of the crisis and unemployment; of ensuring the distribution of relief *only* under the strictest control of the banks and employers.

Since the Community Chests for years have pursued the policy of forced collections directly from workers in industry by means of the check off by the employers, they can be relied on to supplement the share-the-work scheme by these forced collections under threat of dismissal and the blacklist. Their espionage and intimidation departments likewise supplement those of the big corporations in strike struggles, etc. The Community Chests have proved an effective adjunct to the spy and deportation machinery of the Department of Labor and Immigration headed by Doak.

This form of organization of the Hoover-Baker relief machinery is further decisive proof of the necessity for concentration on the stimulation, organization and leadership of mass struggles on *local* issues in the organization of the working class counter offensive. The national actions will be successful only if based solidly on the masses

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taking in these struggles against the Community Chest hunger program. It must be pointed out that these organizations are part and parcel, not only of the local employers' machinery, but have been incorporated in the government apparatus. They are semi-official government agencies.

The drive of finance capital and its government is also directed to some extent against the middle class. The threat of taxation for unemployment insurance in the event the discontent of the masses is not allayed by charity is held over its head.

Speaking over the radio on a nationwide hookup from which the New York *Times* quotes with approval on Oct. 18, Harvey D. Gibson, headed of the Emergency Relief in New York stated that response to the call for $15,000,000 "will not only meet the immediate need" but will *"obviate the necessity for some sort of permanent extraordinary tax measures which might in the long run be far more costly to the individual than a generous contribution this year at least."* (Our emphasis).

President William Green of the A. F. of L. struck the same note, with the additional, and for him usual warning to the capitalists of the need for fortifying their wealth and government institutions against the masses. On Oct. 11 Green broadcast the following appeal:

> "Those who are wealthy and those who control wealth should appraise the stern reality of the present situation. They should give abundantly in order *to save.* They should be extraordinarily generous in order *to protect.* They must unloose their purse strings as never before *if our economic and social institutions are to be made more secure."*—(Our emphasis).

"Give" to ward off unemployment insurance and cash relief at the expense of the government and employers—and social revolution!

Finally, making the open connection between the intensive press campaign intended to weaken the support of the Soviet Union within the working class by playing up a whole new series of distortions of the truth and actual lies about the internal situation there, Hoover in his Cleveland speech which he stated was "largely directed to . . . employment and wage and salary earners," blamed the Soviet Union and the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples for the crisis and unemployment.

Dealing with the world situation Hoover spoke of *"the effect upon us of the revolution among the* 300,000,000 *people in China . . . the agitation among* 300,000,000 *people of India or the Bolshevik revolution among the* 160,000,000 *people in Russia . . . the effect of*

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Russia's dumping into the world the commodities taken from its necessitous people . . . . " (Our emphasis).

Capitalism, therefore, is not to blame for the crisis. It is the Soviet Union and the heroic struggles of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, inspired by the liberation of the oppressed nationalities by the November revolution, which has caused mass unemployment and mass misery in the United States. It is not the breakdown of capitalism but the building of Socialism that creates unprecedented mass unemployment. *The conclusion is that the crisis cannot be solved without the subjugation of the Soviet Union and the suppression of the colonial revolutionary movements and in that sacred cause of capitalism every jobless and hungry American worker should enlist.*

The drive against the Soviet Union, for strengthening of the imperialist offensive against the Chinese people, taken in connection with the new series of hostile acts against the Soviet Union throughout the world, with the outbreak of imperialist-inspired wars in South America, *has now been brought more into the center of the American capitalist offensive; the organization of the offensive on the eve of the fourth winter of the crisis takes on more and more the character of preparation for imperialist war.*

The above facts confirm the estimate made by the Fifteenth Plenum of our Central Committee which stated:

> "Since the Fourteenth Plenum in April, the crisis has plunged to new low levels and continues to deepen. American capitalism has definitely entered upon the path of inflation . . . . Inflation is the second large scale assault against the living standard of the workers, farmers and dispossessed middle class, it is a 'controlled inflation', as advocated by Norman Thomas, i.e., controlled entirely in the interests of finance capital. The offensive against the masses grows fiercer. The bourgeoisie is carrying through measures of decreased purchasing power through inflation, new wage cuts, speed up rationalization, more unemployment, exhaustion of the workers' reserves and further slashing of relief funds . . . . The deepening of the economic crisis is accompanied by and accelerates the serious sharpening of the international contradictions, first of all between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R., as well as within the capitalist camp itself (Anglo-American and Japanese-American contradictions, etc.) . . . . The capitalist world is month by month sliding more and more inexorably into the new world war.
>
> " . . . In this situation the sharply increasing radicalization of broad masses hitherto not involved in the struggle, is more and more taking the form of mass actions which increase in size and scope."

In spite of the drumfire of demagogy behind which the capitalist offensive is being carried out there is unquestionably a rapid rise of mass struggle in the principal industrial centers and the countryside.

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The call for united front action issued by Comrade Foster in Chicago Sept. 10 is meeting with mass response. The election meetings of our Party are growing larger. The leadership of our Party in the United Front mass actions is more apparent and more decisive.

But to carry through successfully the gigantic task we have set for ourselves we must bring more into the foreground of our agitation and propaganda the facts of the critical situation of capitalism in the fourth year of the crisis, explain more clearly to the working class that the tactics of the bourgeoisie offensive are dictated by the end of capitalist stabilization and the decline of capitalism. It is on this basis that the Socialist Party's policy of sabotage of the daily struggle in connection with its role as the defender of the interests of capitalism in the ranks of the masses can be best explained, exposed and defeated.

It is by bringing to the working class the real meaning of the separate attacks on the working class of which the capitalist offensive is composed in terms of the world crisis of capitalism that social demagogy can be best exposed and workers won for the *revolutionary* way out of the crisis.

In this situation it is essential that we give the widest popular explanation of the Leninist analysis of the epoch of imperialism and the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution in connection with the organization and leadership of the great struggles in which our Party is engaged.

> "The domination of finance capital in the advanced capitalist countries; the issue of stocks and bonds as the principal operation of finance capital; the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, which is one of the bases of imperialism (special attention in the light of this to the imperialist wars and revolutionary struggle of the masses in South America—B.D.); the omnipotence of a financial oligarchy, a consequence of the domination of finance capital—all these reveal the parasitic and brutal character of monopolist capitalism, make the yoke of the capitalist syndicates and trusts much more intolerable, increase the indignation of the working class against the foundations of capitalism and drive the masses to the proletarian revolution in which they see their only means of escape." (Stalin in his *Foundations of Leninism,* referring to Lenin's *Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism.*—Page 31, International Publishers.

It must be made clear that the sharper offensive against the entire mass of the exploited population does not indicate a strengthening but a *weakening of the capitalist position.* It must be made clearer than we have been able to do so far, that unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the employers will *not* act as a sed-

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ative for the masses but give a revolutionary impetus to their struggles; that unemployment insurance can be wrested from the capitalists and their government if the mass demand and the mass struggles force this choice.

We must make it clear that our demand is not unemployment insurance *or* revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat headed by the Communist Party, but unemployment insurance as a central part of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, corresponding to the immediate and burning needs of the American working class in the present period.

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Imperialism Dictates the Main Policy of the Koumintang

By D. L. HAN (SHANGHAI)

THE Japanese war office, greatly disturbed by the widening and deepening guerilla warfare in Manchuria against imperialist domination, must have felt particularly happy on the first anniversary of the present Manchurian war. On that day the Kuomintang issued a Manifesto, adopting the suggestion made by the Japanese militarists when they were slaughtering the Shanghai proletariat in Chapei. The suggestion at that time was that the Kuomintang withdraw the 19th Route Army from the path of the Japanese imperialist troops and send them against the Red Armies in Central China. On September 18, as a proof of its struggle against the Japanese seizure of Manchuria, the Kuomintang adopted, not only the suggestion of the Japanese invaders, but the main policy of all the imperialist robbers—war against the Chinese Soviets.

The Kuomintang, on the first anniversary of the Japanese robbery of Manchuria, found it necessary to attempt to justify before the whole of the Chinese people its policy of sending 1,000,000 soldiers against the Chinese Soviets while it withdraws its troops in Manchuria, Szechuan (where the British advance through Tibet), and Yunan and Kiangsi, where French imperialism quietly moves to reproduce the Manchurian adventure in the extreme South of China. The unanimous wish of all the imperialistis, no matter how their interests may clash, that the Soviets in China be crushed has become the main program of the Kuomintang.

The chief point in the Kuomintang Manifesto, on the day of "National Humiliation," as recognized correctly by the entire imperialist press in China, was a declaration of diplomatic maneuverings with Japanese imperialism and an intensification of the war against the Chinese masses. The *China Press,* organ of the Shanghai native bankers, headlined the Kuomintang Manifesto: "Kuomintang Urges Redoubling of Anti-Red War to Fight Japan." The Manifesto itself states: "To resist foreign aggression China must end

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all internal disorders. Therefore, at present her efforts must be redoubled to terminate the Communist-bandit menace."

It is important to examine the background and practical significance of this statement. At the present time there are around 1,000,000 Kuomintang soldiers carrying on the Fourth Anti-Communist Suppression Campaign. Thus far the promises to "annihilate" the Red Armies have proved empty boasting, though they were coupled with the most intensive drives against the Red Armies. To redouble its efforts to attempt to smash the growing Soviet districts, the Kuomintang will concentrate more troops in the Soviet districts, will intensify its white terror in the districts under its control, will do all it can to hamper the partisan troops fighting Japanese imperialism in Manchuria.

The Chinese landlord-bourgeoisie and its political instrument, the Kuomintang, know that the Chinese Soviets are the only bulwark in China against the present imperialist dismemberment of China. They know that the struggle against imperialism, now solely under the leadership of the Chinese Soviets and the Communist Party of China, at the present juncture of the growing catastrophic crisis, is on the verge of sweeping them away. They feel that with the spread of partisan warfare in Manchuria, the battle is directed not alone against the Japanese invaders but as well against its ally in Manchuria, the rich, feudal landowners. They know that in the Kuomintang-ruled territories in China the workers and peasants are extending their struggles against the Kuomintang militarists, the landlords and the bankers and factory owners. They know that the main base of this struggle, victoriously extending itself in the face of the largest army concentration of troops ever attempted in China are the Chinese Soviets, and its main guiding force, the Communist Party of China.

As the Kuomintang finds it less and less possible to hide its collaboration with all the imperialist powers, and especially with Japanese imperialism, its fury against the revolutionary workers and peasants reaches intense heights. On the day set apart for national humiliation over the loss of Manchuria, the Kuomintang, acting with the leading imperialist powers, concentrated its troops and police in all the industrial centres of China to prevent anti-imperialist demonstrations. Shanghai was an armed camp, martial law having been declared.

Realizing that it is unable to smash the Soviets, the Kuomintang is directing its attention to the decisive centres to prevent the leading sections of the Chinese proletariat from joining forces with the Soviet districts. The Kuomintang knows that the Communist Party of

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China has more than doubled its membership in the leading industrial centres. It correctly sees in the enlarging strike struggles a threat to its rule. For this reason several days before it issued its pro-Japanese imperialist manifesto of intensified anti-Red war, the Kuomintang issued a decree prohibiting all strikes, and particularly strikes in factories and enterprises owned by British, American, French and Japanese imperialistis. This decree, which the *China Press,* organ of the big Chinese bourgeoisie, characterized and approved as a "fascist law," was welcomed by the imperialist press as a step in the right direction.

The establishment of a revolutionary textile union, under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Labor in Shanghai, and the growth of the influence of the red trade unions generally as well as their increased leadership in strikes are recognized as a danger signal by the Kuomintang.

At the same time the internal chaos of the Kuomintang cannot be covered up. The crisis signalized by the resignation of Wang Ching Wei is not ended. The base of the Kuomintang grows narrower from day to day. The internal contradictions of the Chinese landlord-bourgeoisie, reflecting the conflicting interests and struggles of the imperialist bandits, is growing. In the south of China, Chen Chi Tang, militarist ruler of Kwantung has declared his complete independence from the Nanking government. A new militarist war, under the prodding of Japanese imperialism is breaking out in Eastern Shantung, favoring the advance of Japanese imperialism into the north of China.

In this situation, the Kuomintang can find its only rallying slogan acceptable to all the militarists of the landlord-bourgeoisie and their imperialist protectors in the extension of the war against the Chinese Soviets and its leader the Communist Party of China. The guiding hand of the imperialists in the Kuomintang Manifesto and its sole policy of "all forces for the attack against the Soviets" is very clearly seen in the following quotation from the organ of the British imperialists in China, the *North China Daily News* (Sept. 19, 1932) commenting on the militarist war in Shantung and the necessity of directing the main fire against the Communists:

> "Whether there has been fighting in Shantung or not, the issuance of the Manifesto from Nanking is of importance not only because of the manner in which it is directed against the Communist-bandits, but because of the implications that may be read into it in view of this reported outbreak. From the large Communist and bandit organizations which have been operating in China for some considerable time past it is hardly likely that this new declaration will obtain much sympathy."

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While, on the contrary, of course, it receives the utmost sympathy and support from the leading slaughterers of the Chinese people, the British, French, Japanese and American imperialists.

So far as Manchuria itself is concerned the Kuomintang is dropping all pretenses at struggle. The same Manifesto which calls for an immediate redoubling of the war against the Chinese Soviets puts the campaign against the Japanese invasion off to an indefinite period. In actuality there is a complete abandonment of the slightest opposition of the Kuomintang to Japanese consolidation of power in Manchuria. All maneuverings and negotiations are carried on either directly with representatives of the Japanese government, or through the League of Nations and other organs of the various imperialist powers.

The Kuomintang is in full agreement with Japanese imperialism in the use of Manchuria as a base for war on the Soviet Union, an extension of the very war carried on by the Kuomintang itself in China against the Chinese Soviets, and the revolutionary workers and peasants. The Kuomintang is now merely bargaining with Japanese imperialism for participation in the plunder of Manchuria. It is demanding a share in the taxes, customs and postal returns. It pleads for a formal recognition of Kuomintang sovereignty over Manchuria, not to exercise any such sovereignty, but to use it as a cloak to cover up the fact that it has been the main instrument in the further dismemberment of China.

But the Kuomintang Manifesto which contains the wishes and needs of the imperialist-allied Chinese landlord-bourgeoisie also contains an admission of the defeat of its Fourth Anti-Communist Suppression Campaign. Certainly if a campaign needs redoubling it means that the objective has been far from attained. It recognizes still more. The disintegration of the Kuomintang regime, its financial as well as political debacle, the growing mass resistance to it as expressed in peasant riots and uprisings in white territories, the spreading of strike struggles, the unreliability of the armed forces, required a new appeal to the Chinese bourgeoisie to unite to ward off its impending doom.

The Manifesto which was so heartily accepted by all the imperialists will be sharply rejected by the Chinese people. Every new or increased anti-imperialist struggle must come into sharp conflict with the Kuomintang rulers. Every resistance against Japanese and other imperialism, whether through partisan warfare in Manchuria, through boycotts in China, through mass demonstrations, or through strikes, can be achieved only through direct and open clashes with the Kuomintang.

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A large section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, sensing this fact, are already preparing for it by intensified activities of all of the reformist lackeys within the Kuomintang. The leader of these forces for the time is Sun Fo, who is already issuing sharp statements against the Kuomintang and on the necessity of re-organizing the Kuomintang and the Nanking regime on the principles of Sun Yat Sen. These saviours of the Kuomintang and the landlord-bourgeoisie of China hope to have ready a "left" stretcher in order to save the Kuomintang on the day of its collapse.

Chiang Kai-shek is forced to carry on the anti-red war within his own army. In the Hankow region he has already ordered the execution of dozens of his lower officers, and the disarming of vast sections of his own troops who failed to attack the Red Armies. The 19th Route Army which was sent into the anti-red war after it had been betrayed by the Kuomintang during the Shanghai war, thus far has proved entirely useless as a force against the Chinese Soviets. General Tsai Thing Kai, commander of the 19th Route Army, on a visit to Shanghai reported that he had ordered the execution of 60 of his own officers, and the disarming of 3,000 of his men for "refusal to fight the Communists." But that does not tell the whole story. The 19th Route Army, which showed such remarkable heroism and fighting ability against Japanese imperialism has remained stationary in Fukien province, its commanders not daring to enter it in a major campaign against the chief Soviet territory in the adjoining province of Kiangsi for fear of disastrous consequences for the Fourth Anti-Communist Campaign.

On a larger scale there is already a definite break in the Fourth Anti-Communist Campaign. General Chen Chi Tang of Kwantung whose armies were supposed to march northward into Kiangsi, cooperating with Chiang Kai-shek's armies coming to meet them from the South, has definitely withdrawn from active war against the Soviets. This withdrawal was not a voluntary act. It resulted from severe defeats inflicted on his forces by the Red Armies, the fear that the Soviet territories would be spread into Kwangtung. General Chen Chi Tang, in announcing his withdrawal from active fighting declared that the Communist menace was increasing, but that he would not risk his neck to end it. He declared that the Kwantung militarists would put their major efforts into strengthening the economic blockade against the Soviet government in the hope of bringing them to submission in this way.

From the viewpoint of the Soviets themselves, in the very midst of this intensive war, in the face of the mobilization of all the Kuomintang forces with the unstinted aid of all the imperialists, they have

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been able to increase the stability of Soviet rule. Not only is land distribution going on more rapidly, not only are the red trade unions being strengthened in the Soviet districts, but the Chinese Soviets have already extended their activities to the surrounding white territories. Work is being increased in the opposing armed forces where discontent is rife among the soldiers, discontent which will grow rapidly with the disintegration of the Kuomintang and its financial collapse. Activity is being increased among the workers and peasants in Nanchang, Hankow, Amoy, and dozens of other important cities near Soviet districts, used as bases for the anti-Communist drive.

Thus, the basic issue in China today is made clear by the Kuomintang itself—class war within the country, war for the extermination of the main enemies of imperialism, war against the Chinese Soviets. The alignment for this war is also clear. All the forces of imperialism are lined up solidly behind the Kuomintang, and as the internal crisis of the Kuomintang wrecks its authority, the authority of the imperialists increases, speaking through the mouthpiece of the leading Kuomintang officials. The imperialists are already taking for themselves the payment for this war. Japan is consolidating its grip in Manchuria. British and French imperialism are grabbing other concessions. American imperialism, while fighting for the whole booty is not overlooking immediate gains such as the extension of its trade, control of leading banks, utilities and industries.

On the other hand, the toiling masses are lining up more solidly behind the Chinese Soviets and the Communist Party of China. The influence of the Communist Party, as well as its organizational strength, is spurting ahead. The challenge of the Kuomintang will be taken up by wider masses and carried to a victory over imperialist rule in China.

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The Lessons of the Illinois Miners' Strike

By S. WILLNER

THE strike of the Illinois miners has not come to an end yet. Tens of thousands remain on strike, though only slim chances are left for even partially maintaining the old wage-scale, i.e., for gaining a partial victory. The miners continue to fight in spite of hunger and terror. In spite of the artful treachery of the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America (U.M.W.A.), Lewis, Walker, and Edmunson, and of the leaders of the Progressive Miners of America (P.M.A.), Ansbury, Allard and Co. Bloody struggles continue to take place for closing and against re-opening of mines. The miners continue to march through the coal fields. It is going to be pretty hard for the bosses and their government to restore "peace and order" so soon in spite of the large-scale use of armed forces and in spite of the assistance of the U.M.W.A. leaders, the P.M.A. and the Socialist Party.

THE MEANING OF THE STRIKE

But no matter, whether victory or defeat for the Illinois miners, we can already say that this strike against wage-cuts which has been going on for 6 months is one of the most important events in the struggle of the American working class since the beginning of the economic crisis. The strike of the Illinois mine workers is another example of the growing radicalization of the American workers. It shows their readiness for struggle and their tremendous fighting energy. It demonstrates once again the splendid solidarity between strikers and unemployed. The strike reveals the quickly developing class consciousness of the miners. It shows their pressure for removal of the treacherous U.M.W.A. leaders, Lewis, Walker and Co. The miners are seeking a class struggle leadership and revolutionary trade union organization.

The struggle and the many events connected with it show, finally, that the masses of miners are trying to find a way out of the miserable

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existence into which they were forced by the crisis of capitalist economy. They are losing their faith in the capitalist way out of the crisis which was preached to them by the agents of the Republican and Democratic Parties. The miners are more and more ridding themselves of the influence of these capitalist parties which have dominated them for tens of years. They demand revolutionary agitation and organization, the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The intensity of this development is expressed, among other phenomena, in the appearence of so-called "left" leaders and in the degree of the radical social-democratic phraseology which they use. Only the Ansburys, Allards and Co. who talk about class struggle, and carry on class treachery, made it possible for the bosses to already force the wage-cut on large sections of the miners, after Lewis and Walker had lost control over the rebelling miners. Only these agents of the Muste, Lovestone and Cannon group, who stole the confidence of the miners, made it possible to prevent the formation of a revolutionary union and to replace the reformist U.M.W.A. by the reformist P. M. A. These "left" leaders prepared the ground for utilizing the break of large masses of miners with the Republican and Democratic Parties, to bring in the Socialist Party. They are the most active propagandists of the social-fascist theory of nationalization of the mining industry and introduction of the six-hour-day as the way out of the crisis. They are therefore the most dangerous obstacles retarding and holding back the masses of miners from joining the front of revolutionary class struggle.

The Muste, Lovestone and Cannon agents among the miners can only be beaten and their influence liquidated by energetic political and organizational work on the part of the Communist Party. The work that was begun during the strike must be improved and multiplied, especially in this regard, in order to clear the Illinois miners' road to Communism.

THE TACTICS OF THE PARTY AND T.U.U.L. IN THE ILLINOIS MINERS' STRIKE

The strike of the Illinois miners went through four important phases which were decisive for the tactics of the Party. These phases are:

(a) The time of the lock-out, during which the leadership of the struggle was in the hands of the U.W.M.A. The time during which complete unanimity existed between Walker, Edmunson and the Ansbury-Allard group.

(b) The time of the first attempts of the Walker-Edmunson

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group to carry through the wage-cut from $6.10 to $5 per shift. As Walker alone was not able to carry through these plans among the miners, he called President Lewis to his aid. During this time the opposition of the strikers against the former opposition leaders, Walker and Edmunson and Co., increased and finally caused a break in the U.M.W.A. leadership. Walker and Edmunson united with the hated (in Illinois particularly) Lewis; the Ansbury-Allard group put itself at the head of the spontaneous miners' opposition against the wage cut.

(c) The time of the forcible strike-breaking attempts of the Lewis-Walker-Edmunson group. It connection with this the transforming of the lock-out into a strike which was begun and carried through by the masses against the will of Lewis and Walker and in spite of the waverings of Ansbury and Allard. The final isolation of Lewis, Walker and Edmunson and the taking over of the strike leadership by the Ansbury-Allard group.

(d) The time of the formation of the Progressive Miners of America, and of the masses more and more recognizing the strike-breaking attempts of the Ansbury-Allard group, their attempt to conclude local wage-agreements, their sabotage of the organization of mass picket lines and of the struggle for strike relief. Finally the preparation and carrying through of the P.M.A. convention with open denial of the revolutionary class struggle and the National Miners Union by Ansbury and Co. Their attempt to split the ranks of the Illinois miners by accepting the wage-cut and concluding separate agreements for the mechanized and the non-mechanized mines.

The Party and the Trade Union Unity League attempted successfully to adapt their tactics to the respective situations and to expose before the masses the Lewis-Walker group, as well as the much more dangerous Ansbury-Allard group. Of special importance for the whole Party are the proposals of the Central Committee and of the T.U.U.L. for application of the united front policy during the strike. The correct united front policy made it repeatedly possible for the Party and the revolutionry miners' opposition to exert a big influence on the further development of the struggle. Though in general the policy of the Party and the T.U.U.L. was correct, we did not succeed in breaking the influence of the "left" Ansbury-Allard group, failing to develop a revolutionary leadership of the strike from among the masses of strikers and thus create the very best guarantee for a victory of the miners. The causes for this are mainly the entirely insufficient, sectarian, and often opportunistic application of the policy of the Party and of the T.U.U.L. by the section and local

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Party organization and by the revolutionary miners' opposition, the general political weaknesses of the Party's struggle against social-fascism, and the underestimation of organizational work.

It would however be wrong to burden the comrades and organizations working under very difficult conditions in the strike territory, with the whole responsibility for the insufficient results of the work of the Party and T.U.U.L. in the Illinois miners' strike. The Party and the T.U.U.L. leadership have for a long time been aware of the political and organizational weaknesses of the Party organization and of the revolutionary miners' opposition in the Illinois coal fields. It must be stated that notwithstanding this, no serious measures were undertaken even after the beginning of the strike, to draw the existing forces together, organize their work, overcome the political and organizational weaknesses, and systematically support the Party organizations in their work. The Party and the T.U.U.L. leadership were quite satisfied with giving from time to time, the general tactical line for the work of the Party and the revolutionary miners' opposition. Furthermore, they hardly interested themselves in safeguarding the correct carrying out of the line among the masses and against Ansbury and Co. They did not recognize that the political leadership of a mass struggle, as the Illinois miners' strike is, cannot be taken care of as a side-job and accidentally from New York or Chicago, but that it requires the constant, serious activity of leading comrades in the strike territory itself, in order to fully utilize all local Party organizations and comrades. Because of this decisive mistake the carrying through of the correct line of the Party leadership could not be safeguarded and the developing deviations, mistakes and shortcomings could not be corrected quickly enough.

THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY AND THE T.U.U.L. UNTIL THE REMOVAL OF THE LEWIS-WALKER LEADERSHIP

Under pressure from the miners, the leaders of the U.M.W.A. were forced, before the movement started, to accept the demand for a 20 percent increase in wages and for the six-hour day. The Party and the T.U.U.L. quickly pointed out that the U.M.W.A. leaders would sabotage the struggle for these demands and give active support to the bosses in carrying through a wage-cut. That it was therefore the task of the miners to concentrate on the struggle against any wage-cut and on the preparation for this struggle by establishing the united front with the unemployed, by electing strike committees and by organizing the collection of strike relief.

These proposals of the revolutionary opposition were accepted in

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a number of U.M.W.A. locals. Their practical application, however, was interrupted by the general lock-out of the bosses. The mistake was that not only the miners but also the Party organizations and the revolutionary miners' opposition considered the continuation of the campaign superfluous, "since all mines are going to be closed down." This resulted in a silent armistice between the revolutionary opposition and the U.M.W.A. leadership which continued for about two months. When the treacherous steps of Walker, Edmunson and Co. for carrying through the wage-cut, became clear to the masses, the Party and the revolutionary opposition brought forward the question of transforming the lock-out into a strike under a leadership elected by the masses themselves. In this connection the Party and the revolutionary opposition propagated the organization of mass picket lines, of the collection of relief for the strikers and the unemployed.

The agitation of the Party and the revolutionary opposition brought about visible results among the miners. An open rebellion against the treacherous Walker-Edmunson leadership developed. The unity of the U.M.W.A. leadership was broken up. Ansbury and Allard were forced to break with their friends, Walker and Edmunson, if they wanted to retain their influence on the masses of miners.

The Party and the revolutionary opposition finally tried to force this group, which more and more gained the confidence of the miners to a clear expression of their intentions in case of an open strike-breaking attempt of Lewis and Co., and put to them the following questions among others, through a leaflet: Are you ready to continue the struggle in spite of the boss terror and the sabotage of Lewis, Walker and Co., until the defeat of the wage-cut? Are you ready for this purpose to take the necessary steps for strengthening the fighting front, jointly with us? Are you ready to organize the election of broad strike committees in every locality as well as in sections and districts? Are you ready to organize mass picket lines and to organize the collection of relief for the strikers and the unemployed? Finally, are you ready to call meetings of the strike leadership in sections and districts to take up all these questions and elect the higher strike committees?

The leaflet also had good results. A lively discussion among the masses of miners began. Ansbury was forced to publicly answer all questions put to him. He was also forced to take steps for carrying out the proposals.

But how did he carry out the proposals? Local strike committees were elected, consisting of 3 to 5 members only. This means that the leadership of the movement continued to remain in the hands

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of the local U.M.W.A. leaders among whom were many supporters of Walker and Edmunson, who were for acceptance of the new wage-scale, but who in view of the sentiment of the miners hid their real opinion and followed Ansbury's leadership. No picket lines were organized. No section strike conferences took place. The district conference called by Ansbury was almost exclusively composed of presidents of the local U.M.W.A. organizations.

What were the mistakes and shortcomings in carrying out the policy of the Party and the revolutionary opposition during this time?

(a) For tens of years it has been a tradition in the U.M.W.A. that the miners decide by referendum on the acceptance or rejection of a wage agreement. This tradition is so strong that even Lewis and Walker had to take it into consideration. They were repeatedly forced to allow such referendum which resulted in an overwhelming majority against the wage-cut and for continuation of the struggle. Underestimating the miners' will to struggle and being afraid of the result of the referendum, the revolutionary opposition proclaimed a boycott of the referendum, instead of working with all its power for a hundred percent defeat of the wage-cut proposals and at the same time making all preparations for continuing the strike.

These mistakes made it possible for Ansbury to accuse the revolutionary opposition of supporting Lewis, Walker and Co., and to represent his group as "the only sincere opposition against the wage-cut."

(b) The Party and the revolutionary opposition did not conduct a struggle against Ansbury and were satisfied with formal attacks against him. After distributing the above-mentioned leaflet they were satisfied with Ansbury's answers to the questions put to him. They did nothing to expose his maneuvers on the question of strike committees and picket lines. For a successful exposure of those maneuvers a broad enlightenment campaign on the role and tasks of the strike committees, on their united front character, etc., was necessary. It demanded the most decisive struggle for election of strike committees and for organizing mass picket lines in the local U.M.W.A. organizations. Such a struggle would necessarily have led to the exposure or assimilation of the Lewis-Walker agents in the local organizations. The revolutionary opposition conducted this enlightenment campaign and this struggle very poorly. The result was a blurring over of the differences between the revolutionary opposition and Ansbury and Co. in the struggle against the wage-cut.

(c) The revolutionary opposition was afraid to openly show its face and call itself the revolutionary opposition. It called itself

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"Rank and File Opposition," the same name which the Ansbury opposition adopted. The revolutionary opposition was also afraid to put its leading functionaries into the foreground and organize around them its followers, whose numbers continuously grew. Ansbury, however, utilized the miners' habit (of finding out with whom they are dealing when they are given advice or when leaflets are put into their hands) to popularize his leadership. The revolutionary opposition avoided signing their leaflets with any names. The Party and the revolutionary opposition therefore omitted the popularization of their district leadership. The revolutionary opposition was afraid to oppose the Ansbury-"Opposition" with an organized revolutionary opposition, armed with its own apparatus and active through its own conferences, meetings, etc., for the preparation of the struggle in the U.M.W.A. and in the strike leadership. The revolutionary opposition knew well that to defeat Ansbury meant at the same time to take over the leadership of the miners. It omitted however, to create the political and organizations prerequisites for this. It was afraid to break the U.M.W.A. laws, even when they had already been broken long ago by the miners and by the Ansbury-"Opposition." And it thus gave Ansbury the best opportunity for establishing his dominance among the masses of miners.

THE PARTY'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ANSBURY-ALLARD-ALLAN LEADERSHIP

The stealing of the referendum lists and the open attacks of the Lewis-Walker group for the forcible carrying through of the wage-cut in the beginning of August had to have as its result either the resumption of work or the transformation of the lock-out into a strike under a leadership elected by the workers themselves. Correctly estimating the will to struggle of the miners, the Party and the revolutionary opposition called for a strike struggle, for the organization of mass picket lines and for the organization of the collection of strike relief. The splendid response of the miners to these slogans showed that the work of the Party and of the revolutionary opposition, even though insufficient, resulted in successes. The energetic carrying through of mass picket lines, the march of 10,000 to Christian County, to close down the Peabody mines in Taylorville, were the high points of the struggle.

The open strike-breaking attempt of the U.M.W.A. leadership resulted in the complete bankruptcy of the Lewis-Walker-Edmunson group. The Ansbury-Allard group was badly shaken by the strike-breaking offensive of Lewis and Walker. It stood helpless before

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this development. The only advice which Ansbury was able to give the miners was: "Comrades, we have done everything we could. We have come to the end of our resources. Go into your local organizations and decide yourselves what you consider correct."

A politically and organizationally strong revolutionary opposition in such a situation would have smashed the Ansbury group and developed a revolutionary leadership, elected by the masses themselves. Its political and organizational weakness however, prevented the revolutionary opposition from utilizing at that time their good political position. As a result, the Ansbury group, which after the betrayal of Lewis and Walker, was joined by practically the whole U.M.W.A. apparatus, succeeded, after overcoming its first scare, in mastering the situation. They put themselves at the head of the splendid movement which had swept away Lewis and Walker, they kept together the U.M.W.A. apparatus, and, with radical phrases, they took the wind out of the revolutionary opposition's sails. The revolutionary opposition was thus forced to start all over again the struggle against the now dominating Ansbury group. The goal of its policy was to defeat the Lewis-Walker elements who were seeking shelter in the Ansbury group and had adapted themselves to the new situation, to win the sincere oppositional functionaries and the masses of miners, who followed Ansbury, for the revolutionary opposition. The revolutionary opposition therefore proposed to the Ansbury group: united continuation of the strike, election of broad strike committees, organization of mass picket lines and of a strike relief campaign, removal of all supporters of the Lewis-Walker group from the strike leadership locally and in the districts, re-election of the scale committees and the removal of Walker and Edmunson from the leadership of the Illinois district of the U.M.W.A.

It was decided to spread these proposals in leaflet form, signed by the district leaders of the revolutionary opposition, to bring them forward in all meetings and to fight for them, especially emphasizing that only by carrying them out, could the united front of the miners, and victory, be secured. The decisions were only partially carried out. The leaflet was again signed "Rank and File Opposition" and without the names of the district leaders of the revolutionary opposition. Only in the Springfield and Belleville sections was a certain struggle conducted for the proposals of the opposition with the result that in these territories the strike was continued 100%. In Franklin County, the Party organizations and the revolutionary opposition retreated before the boss terror and the Lewis clique. This contributed very much to the fact that in this territory 7,000 workers

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returned into the mines. The bosses were able to re-open the largest mechanized mines, Orient 1 and 2, etc.

In addition to this the following mistakes and shortcomings began to show themselves in the work of the Party and of the revolutionary opposition:

(a) In the heat of struggle against the Ansbury group the comrades forgot to continue the struggle against Lewis, Walker and Co. who organized broad splitting tactics. They were satisfied with the struggle against the Ansbury group instead of being also the leaders against the splitting tactics of the Lewis group. The comrades left this struggle to Ansbury whom Lewis had removed as president of the local.

(b) The comrades were not convinced that victory or defeat of the miners depends on their work. They did not recognize the decisive necessity and importance of the victory of the revolutionary opposition over the Ansbury group. The comrades did not recognize that the carrying through of their revolutionary policy alone could safeguard and strengthen the united front of the miners. They therefore did not struggle with sufficient inner conviction for the revolutionary united front, for the defeat of the wage-cut. They again allowed Ansbury to represent himself as the peerless fighter for the united front from below, instead of forcing him to take a definite stand against his very suspicious followers (the U.M.W.A. apparatus), instead of forcing him either to get out or to take up seriously the conduct of the strike jointly with the revolutionary opposition, and thus forcing him to show himself up in his true colors. The insufficient mobilization of the masses of miners against Ansbury and the insufficient emphasis of the readiness for joint work on the basis of the program of the revolutionary opposition, left complete freedom of action to the Ansbury group.

(c) The comrades did not see that the sharpening of the political struggle against the Ansbury group in district, sections and locally, and the sharpest struggle for the unity of the strikers, are the preconditions for the strengthening and organizational consolidation of the revolutionary opposition. Determined to overcome the underestimation of organization work in their ranks, the comrades developed a propaganda for the formation of opposition groups. This propaganda, however, was carried on isolated from the struggle for the carrying out of the program of the revolutionary opposition, as the one measure for the development of forces who alone can lead the struggle to victory. The miners, filled with illusions about the Ansbury group, could understand neither the slogan "Form Opposition Groups" nor the slogan "Elect Strike Committees," as long as

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the line of demarcation against the Ansbury leadership locally, in the sections and in the district was not sharply drawn politically. This showed itself when the miners said: "We don't understand what you want. We are all against Lewis and Walker. We are all for the opposition. Why special opposition groups? It seems to us that this only endangers the existing unity."

THE FORMATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA AND THE TACTICS OF THE PARTY AND OF THE T.U.U.L.

Under the vacillating leadership of the Ansbury-Allard group which was more and more pushed to the right by the under-cover Lewis-Walker elements among their followers, the splendid fighting activity of the miners which was expressed in their numerous mass actions, could not have its effects purposefully and for a definite goal. This clearly showed itself in connection with the march of 20,000 miners to West Franklin County, which because of the absence of strategic leadership and of bad preparation, was beaten back by the police and armed "citizens' guards" with bloody losses to the miners. The revolutionary opposition attempted with all its power to change this situation and in this regard developed good activity.

With regard to the liquidation of the Lewis-Walker wage-cut agreement and the conducting of direct negotiations of the strikers with the bosses' organization, the revolutionary opposition proposed the re-election of the scale committee, the removal of the Walker elements from the strike leadership and the conduct of negotiations with the bosses under direct control of the strikers and unemployed. The carrying out of these proposals would necessarily have led to the organizational break of the masses of miners with the U.M.W.A.—which the strikers and the unemployed wanted and demanded—without drawing the attention of the strikers and of the unemployed and their activity, in this decisive situation, away from the carrying out of the necessary fighting steps for the defeat of the wage-cut, by raising the question of organizing a new union.

The Ansbury-Allard group, however, utilized the miners' movement for the break with the U.M.W.A. and for the formation of a new miners' union, to divert their attention from the strike situation which was growing more difficult and from the necessary measures for sharpening the struggle and to strengthen their own position. Their leadership therefore called for the beginning of September a district conference of the U.M.W.A. in Gillespie, in which the separation from the U.M.W.A. and the formation of the Progressive Miners of America was decided. The conference laid down the

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beginning of October as the time for the first convention of the organization, to decide on the constitution and to elect the leadership of the new union.

The other decisions of the conference already more clearly showed the plans which the Ansbury leadership followed with the formation of the Progressive Miners of America. The conference, among other decisions, decided to discontinue the mass marches and mass picket lines and instead to send a protest to the governor against sending armed forces into the strike territory, and further to begin "honest" negotiations with the bosses for the conclusion of a wage-scale and to conclude as many local wage-scale agreements as possible. These decisions necessarily led to the demoralization of the strike struggle.

The organization of the Progressive Miners of America forced the Party and the T.U.U.L. again to concretize their tactics. The general line of its policies remained the same, i.e., the revolutionary opposition mobilized all its forces for safeguarding the unity of the miners, against the demoralization of the strike by the Ansbury-Allard leadership, in order to organize new mass actions against the re-opening and for the closing down of mines in West Franklin County, etc., and for procuring food for the strikers and for the unemployed in the interest of the victory of the miners. In order to break the sabotage of these measures by the now considerably stronger Ansbury-Allard leadership, it was necessary to take new steps for their exposure. Before all, this required a concrete stand on the part of the revolutionary opposition towards the organization of the Progressive Miners of America and towards its vacillating leadership.

The Party and the revolutionary opposition correctly saw in the formation of the Progressive Miners of America an act of mass activity, furthered by the tremendous indignation of the masses of miners against the new betrayal of Lewis, Walker and Co. and utilized by the Ansbury-Allard leadership. The Party and the revolutionary opposition therefore supported the formation of the Progessive Miners of America and called upon their supporters to actively participate in the work of the organization, to accept every function for which they are elected by the miners, and to fight for every function, especially for every delegation to the convention of the P.M.A. The Party and the revolutionary opposition at the same time stated that the leadership of the new union is composed of Muste and Cannon elements who are distinguished from Lewis and Walker only by their radical phrases, and whose goal is to finish the strike as quickly as possible, no matter under what conditions. The Party and the revolutionary opposition therefore called upon their followers to conduct the sharpest struggle against this leadership, for the united

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front of the masses of miners on the basis of the program of the revolutionary opposition, and for the election of a revolutionary leadership in the Progressive Miners of America. Comrade Foster, in his speech in Springfield, gave an example of how this struggle should be conducted. He branded the criminal dilettantism of the P.M.A. leaders in the preparation and carrying through of the march to West Franklin County, and their treacherous stand towards the revolutionary movement. He exposed their sabotage of the election of strike committees, of the organization of strike relief, of picket lines and marches, and their giving up the struggle against the wage-cut, and for the district agreement by concentrating on the conclusion of local agreements.

With regard to the Party's stand towards the Progressive Miners of America and the Muste-Cannon leadership, there again appeared strong vacillations of the Party section committee, to the left and to the right. Before the comrades were informed of the Party's decisions on these questions they sent a circular to the comrades active in the strike territory, which said that the organization of the new union was a reactionary step which was to be fought most sharply. As a result of this the followers of the revolutionary opposition fought against the newly-formed organization, did not participate in its meetings, did not conduct a struggle for the leading positions in the local organization of the new union, and particularly neglected the work for the political preparation and election of the delegates to the convention. This mistake was again utilized by the Muste and Cannon followers to accuse the revolutionary opposition of collaboration with Lewis and Walker. After this mistake was corrected, the comrades went to the other extreme. They did not understand the difference between the masses of miners and their Muste-Cannon leadership. They therefore gave up not only the incorrect struggle against the organization of the Progressive Miners of America, but also the correct and urgently necessary struggle against the Muste-Cannon leadership.

The result was a new diminishing of the influence of the revolutionary opposition and a blurring over of the differences between it and the Ansbury-Allard group. As a result of this the revolutionary opposition was represented by only 5 delegates at the convention of the P.M.A. The political weakness of the revolutionary opposition also showed itself at the convention. The revolutionary delegates did not succeed, in spite of their correct resolutions and motions, in defending their program with the necessary sharpness. The betrayal of the Ansbury-Allard group which openly showed itself at the convention, was not exposed sufficiently. As a result, the delegates from

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the revolutionary opposition did not succeed in bringing the opponents of the Ansbury-Allard policies among the delegates under their leadership. The Ansbury-Allard group succeeded by their demagogy in winning a big majority of the convention for their strike-breaking policies.

THE NATIONAL MINERS UNION AND THE ILLINOIS MINERS' STRIKE

The attitude of the National Committee of the National Miners Union towards the Illinois miners strike showed a strong underestimation of the importance of the N.M.U. for the miners' movement in the U.S.A. Just as the revolutionary opposition in Illinois for a long time considered itself too weak and unimportant to take over the leadership in the struggle for the revolutionary unity of strikers and unemployed against the wage-cut, against Lewis and Walker, and against the Ansbury-Allard group, so the National Committee of the N.M.U. considered itself too weak and unimportant to take over the leadership in the struggle for the revolutionary united front of the miners against the wage-cut, against Lewis, Kenney, etc., nationally. This tendency shows an underestimation of the fact that only the application of the class struggle policy and fighting methods, which are represented only by the revolutionary miners' opposition and by the N.M.U., can secure victory for the miners and that only on the basis of the program of the revolutionary opposition and of the N.M.U. can the revolutionary united front be established. It is the duty of the revolutionary opposition and of the N.M.U. to fight for the carrying out of their revolutionary policies in all mining districts, to support the miners in the organizing and carrying out of their struggles, and to help them to get rid of their treacherous, reformist leaders. The revolutionary opposition or the National Miners Union is never too weak to begin such a struggle. Even the smallest group, in numbers, can and must start the struggle. It can only grow, strengthen its ranks and win decisive influence among the miners by continuously and consistently carrying on this struggle.

The N.M.U. supported the Illinois miners at the end of March when the bosses carried out the lock-out, by correctly analysing the situation and the treacherous policy of Lewis and Walker, as well as by concrete proposals for the organization of the movement. After this the N.M.U. kept away from the strike territory until the beginning of September. It again made its appearance when the Gillespie conference decided upon the break with the U.M.W.A. and the formation of the Progressive Miners of America. Nor did it

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undertake any serious steps for the unification of miners' struggles in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio and for the mobilization of the masses of miners in Western Pennsylvania for the struggle for a wage-raise and for the re-establishment of union conditions.

The National Committee of the N.M.U. therefore carries—and it is necessary to openly states this—a large part of the responsibility for the fact that is was not possible during the strike to break the influence of the Ansbury-Allard group and to win the masses of miners, who were struggling with the greatest readiness to sacrifice, for the revolutionary class struggle. The National Committee bears a large part of the responsibility for the fact that the break of the masses of miners with the U.M.W.A. did not lead to the establishment of the revolutionary National Miners Union in Illinois, but led to the formation of the Progressive Miners of America. It bears the full responsibility for the fact that the Ansbury-Allard group could for a length of time, and successfully, pose as the defenders of national unity among the miners.

Since the formation of the Progressive Miners of America, the National Committee of the N.M.U. has corrected its stand on the question of struggle for the national unity of the miners and on the role of the N.M.U. in the struggles of the miners. It welcomed the break of the Illinois miners with the U.M.W.A. and the formation of the Progressive Miners of America. It decided joint measures for broadening the fighting front, for the organization of a national relief campaign and strengthened the activity of the N.M.U. in Western Pennsylvania and in the Anthracite, and proposed these measures to the Progressive Miners of America. The leaders of the Progressive Miners of America gave an evasive answer to these honest proposals. Nevertheless, the National Committee of the N.M.U. consistently continuing this policy in the interest of the united fighting front of the miners and of the coming unification into one revolutionary national miners' organization, sent its representatives to the convention of the Progressive Miners of America. It was the intention of the N.M.U. delegation to draw the attention of the convention to the existing, still favorable strike situation, at the same time pointing out the bad mistakes in the policy of the leadership of the Progressive Miners of America and to propose again concrete meausures for closing down the mines in West Franklin County, for strengthening the relief campaign, for broadening the strike in the coal fields of West Virginia and Western Pennsylvania. The Ansbury-Allard group, however, prevented the appearance of the N.M.U. delegation at the convention, by conducting the whole convention behind closed doors and admitting only the representatives of the reformist West

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Virginia Miners' Union but not the representatives of the revolutionary National Miners Union. The delegation of the N.M.U. therefore spread in printed form Comrade Borich's greetings to the convention, which the measures of Ansbury and Allard prevented him from turning over to it. It branded the open betrayal of the Ansbury-Allard leadership which utilized the convention for breaking the fighting front of the miners against the wage-cut. The delegation further branded the spreading of the social-fascist theory of nationalization of the mining industry and of the introduction of the six-hour day for overcoming the miserable living conditions of the miners, and showed, with the example of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union, the difference between capitalist and proletarian nationalization of industry.

With these measures the N.M.U. delegation gave very good support to the activity of the revolutionary opposition. At the same time it showed to all miners in the U.S.A. the way to real national unity of the miners in the revolutionary struggle against the bosses and against Lewis and his "left" agents.

It is of the greatest importance for the further development of the miners' movement that the speeches and declaration of the N.M.U. on the convention of the reformist Progressive Miners of America receive the widest distribution and popularization.

SECTARIANISM AND OPPORTUNISM IN PRACTICE IN THE WORK OF THE PARTY DURING THE STRIKE

An analysis of the work of the Party and of the revolutionary opposition discloses the existence of crass formalism and sectarian burocracy which are based on an opportunist underestimation of the radicalization and revolutionizing of the working masses.

The Party as a whole has by far not yet become conscious of the radicalizing effect of the deep economic crisis, the revolutionizing effect of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union, of the continuously sharpening class struggles in all capitalist countries. The great majority of Party functionaries and members still look at the working masses through "prosperity glasses." It is very hard for them to believes (1) that the working masses in the U.S.A., living under such miserable conditions, are looking for a way out of the crisis, (2) that the politicalization of the masses is progressing very rapidly, (3) that they are more and more losing their confidence in the Republican and Democratic Parties, (4) that large sections are turning towards Socialism, the building up of which is shown as being possible and necessary by the splendid example of the Soviet Union.

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The lack of faith of a part of the Party in the growing radicalization and revolutionizing of the masses in the U.S.A. was expressed in the vacillating position towards the numerous strikes, towards the struggles of the farmers, the war veterans, etc. This disbelief showed itself in particularly crass form in the Party sections, St. Louis, Springfield and West Franklin County in connection with the Illinois miners strike. The limited field of action of the Party during the strike, the continuous vacillations to the right and to the left in the application of the generally correct policies and tactics of the Party during the strike, the fear of sharpening the struggle against Ansbury by thorough agitational and organizational work, especially in the local organizations of the U.M.W.A., respect for the Progressive Miners of America, the fear of organizationally drawing together the revolutionary opposition, and the fear of acting in spite of and against the U.M.W.A. laws in the interest of strengthening and broadening the strike—these are practical examples of it.

The Party organizations in the above-mentioned sections were not seriously mobilized for the strike. The units and shop nuclei were therefore not the basis of the Party's work during the strike; only individual comrades developed good activity.

Some of the comrades in the strike territory again spread the idea that the masses of workers do not want to have anything to do with the Party and do not want to be suspected of being "Reds." Therefore, instead of increasing and improving the revolutionary propaganda for the Party, the comrades completely stopped it. In some cases they even refused to accept functions in the strike committee for which they had been nominated by the miners. They told the workers: "We are known as Communists. Our taking over these functions would have the result that the bosses would call this strike a Communist strike. This might lead to a split in the strike front. Therefore it is better if you elect other workers to the strike committee."

The lack of faith in the radicalization and revolutionizing of the working masses also finds crass expression in the fact that from April 1st to September 30th, only two striking miners were "won" for the Party. It cannot really be said that these workers were won for the Party; rather, they succeeded in being admitted into the Party by fighting for it with the greatest energy and stubbornness. For the sectarian-opportunist ideology which dominates the Party organizations is an almost unsurmountable wall for the masses of workers. The comrades have the view that among the 75,000 strikers and unemployed there cannot be found a single worker who would be "good" enough and "mature" enough to be taken into the

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Party. They even have objections against every one who has been sympathizing with the Party for years, and against his being admitted into the Party. The comrades have so far refused to undertake any mass recruiting for the Party and, either directly or indirectly prevented many workers from joining the Party.

The underestimation of the process of radicalization and revolutionizing of the working masses prevents the Party from correcting its work of organizing and leading the economic struggles of the workers with the revolutionary propagation of the final goal and the political struggle against social-fascism. In the resolution of the 14th Central Committee Plenum the following is said on this mistake:

> "A special weakness of the Party is the absolutely inadequate fight against the social fascists, and first of all against the Muste group which, as the present strikes and the elections show, have increased their influence among the ranks of the workers. The Party has failed to bring the revolutionary way out of the crisis to the American workers, as it has also failed to popularize the victorious socialist construction in the Soviet Union."

The whole agitation and propaganda the Party carries on in connection with economic struggles of the working masses, which acquire an ever increasing revolutionary character, is still limited to the propagation of economic demands and the methods of struggle for winning them.

But this is not enough. It is necessary to utilize such mass movements for a broad propaganda on the necessity of overthrowing capitalist rule and of the building up of Socialism as the only way out of the crisis. During the course of these mass struggles, it is necessary to utilize the example of the Soviet Union, and on this basis conduct the sharpest struggle against the Socialist Party, which, with the greatest demagogy, propagates the nationalization of industry and the peaceful transformation of capitalist economy into a socialist one. The abandonment of revolutionary propaganda by the Party during the Illinois miners' strike made it possible for the Socialist Party to gain influence in the strike territory. The latter was able to gain hundreds of new members among the miners and to build up many new branches.

These mistakes and shortcomings also influenced the Party's political struggle during the strike. The political difference between the revolutionary opposition and the Ansbury-Allard "opposition" was not fully brought to the attention of the miners. Conciliatory tendencies towards the Ansbury-Allard group developed among the

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Party members, and that at a time when it was necessary to conduct the political struggle against them in the sharpest manner. This means that the conciliatory tendencies were developed after the Ansbury-Allard group had been joined by almost the whole apparatus of Lewis-Walker, and had more and more given up the struggle against the wage-cut and for retaining the $6.10 wage-cut. During this time the Ansbury-Allard group used particularly radical phrases about the class struggle. Influenced by this, the St. Louis section leadership sent a letter to the Trotskyite Allard, who exercises decisive influence in the Ansbury-group, asking him to join the Party again. The letter was sent after the formation of the Progressive Miners of America, i.e., after the Ansbury-Allard group had been forced to take over full responsibility before the masses of miners, for the continuation of the strike. Conciliationism is also expressed in the resolution of the Chicago district committee of September 17 which says:

> "While the miners took over most of our demands and proposals for carrying on the struggle, we were not able to *outmaneuver the right and the unconscious reformist elements* . . . . The task is establishment of the united front of the miners, support of the Progressive Miners of America, while at the same time criticizing those leaders who attempt to narrow down or break the strike . . ."

It is not correct to establish a difference between the reformist leaders on the basis of "conscious" and "unconscious" reformists. It is however correct and necessary to clearly work out the difference between right and "left" reformist leaders. The leadership of the P.M.A. is composed of right and "left", i.e., open and concealed opportunists. The "left" leaders are an especially dangerous obstacle to the development of the revolutionary class struggle, since most of them still worked in the mines until the beginning of the strike, did not have any paid functions and are considered honest elements. The formulation in the resolution of the Chicago district committee strengthens the tendency to only conduct the struggle against the right reformist leaders, i.e., to concentrate the main attack against them. The main attack, however, must be directed against the "left" reformist leaders, whom it is much more difficult to expose because of their "honesty" or demagogy. The formulation strengthens the conciliatory tendencies towards the "left" reformist leaders and leads to conciliationism in practice.

The exposure of the "left" reformist leaders demands greatest conscientiousness and correctness in the use of factual material and greatest flexibility in the tactics to be used for branding the incom-

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petence and the "objective" treachery of these leaders. This was seriously attempted by the Party and the revolutionary opposition during the Illinois miners' strike. Successes, however, can only be won by such an exposure, if at the same time a serious struggle is conducted for the united front from below and by clearly showing the irreconcilable contradiction between on the one hand the opportunist position of the Muste group, the Socialist Party, and, in this case also, the Trotskyites, and on the other hand the revolutionary position of the Communist Party and the revolutionary opposition, with regard to all questions on the revolutionary class struggle. Only in this manner will it at the same time be possible to draw vacillating reformist elements into the camp of revolutionary class struggle or to force them to expose themselves as open enemies of the working class and agents of the bourgeoisie.

THE TASKS IN THE STRIKE TERRITORY

In spite of the mistakes and shortcomings described above, the open treachery of the Ansbury-Allard group and the revolutionary work of the Party among the masses of miners have created considerably better preconditions for winning a large section of them for the revolutionary class struggle and for joining the Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition. Their own experiences are more and more teaching the masses of miners that only through the application of the policies and tactics proposed by the revolutionary opposition and by the Communist Party, can their fighting front be stabilized and their strike be led to victory. It is therefore necessary to utilize this better insight of the masses of miners for purposes of sharpening the struggle against the leaders of the U.M.W.A. and of the P.M.A., for strengthening the revolutionary opposition in both organizations, and for the unification of the miners—no matter to which organization they belong—on the basis of the class struggle. This requires the immediate strengthening of the activity of the Party and of the revolutionary opposition in the strike territory. This requires the winning of many hundreds of new members for the Party and the organization of new locals and mine nuclei in the strike territory. This requires the improvement and intensification of the political struggle against the Ansbury-Allard group and against the Socialist Party by exposing their capitalist policy of nationalizing the mining industry as the peaceful road to Socialism. It must be made impossible for the Socialist Party to retain a single branch in the strike territory.

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How Many Unemployed?

A REVIEW OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC CRISIS AS OF OCTOBER, 1932

By JOHN IRVING

THE third quarter of 1932 ended with the announcement, on September 30, that the Ford Motor Company had gone on a $4 a day wage scale—to its pre-1914 scale. The fourth quarter of the year began with the announcement, on October 1, that "for the first time in railroad history, current liabilities of the railroads of the country exceeded [as of July 31] current assets." (*New York Times*). The Ford announcement is but a striking echo of the plight of the American wage earner at this stage of the American economic crisis. Inasmuch as the Ford Motor Company is operating at probably less than half time this means the condemnation of thousands of wage earners and wage earners' families to "dignified" starvation. For as long as one "has a job" he must live on his earnings no matter how meager they are. One can expect no help from the charities.

The report on the financial status of the railroads means that on July 31 the largest single industry of these proud United States was literally bankrupt. It was not so declared merely because of the tacit understanding between the Federal Administration and railroad bond holders—the savings banks, the insurance companies principally —not to do so. But this does not mean that in the end the tottering financial structure of our railroads—based on three-quarters of a century of over-expansion and over-valuation—will not prove the very undoing of the entire credit structure of the country. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation is laying down the roadbed toward that precipice.

We will not, however, at this time develop the subject of railroad finance. For the present we will turn it over to ex-president Coolidge and his "Board of Five" which the Amercian bankers recently appointed with instructions "to study the situation . . . and present for public [!] approval recommendations . . ." etc. We believe that a more urgent task before us is to arrive at some reliable estimate of the amount of unemployment that exists in this country at the beginning of this fourth winter of the crisis.

There is probably no more striking expression of our economic planlessness than the fact that after three years of the most disastrous

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economic depression in the history of this country we do not know *within millions* the actual amount of unemployment and its attendant suffering. We balance to within a penny the current assets and current liabilities of our twenty-billion dollar railroad industry. We know to within a small percentage of error the amount of the rise or decline in the daily output of pig iron; we know to within ⅛ of one percent the hourly change in the price of the shares of a thousand different business corporations. But we do not know, after more than three years of depression and untold suffering, the number of American workers able to work and willing to work that are without jobs, or, if they have jobs, the number that are working only part time and at what rates of wages. We have, of course, estimates—official government estimates and A. F. of L. estimates. But no one within his senses takes these seriously. Yet, short of a continuous national audit, no estimate, however scrupulously derived, can come anywhere near the exact figures. For the existing grounds upon which any estimate might be based are very uncertain and often transparently misleading.

Our principal sources of information upon which a semblance of scientific estimating of the amount of unemployment in America at any time—monthly—might be based is the *index of employment* of some of our industrial states and that of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. (We cannot be sure that in recent months the latter has not been tampered with). The States of New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Illinois, Pennsylvania and others and several of the Federal Reserve banks, publish a monthly index of *factory employment* and *payrolls* and certain other supplementary data for the given states and Federal Reserve territories. And for each of these states and territories the figures may be accepted as representing with a fair degree of approximation *changes* in the number of wage-earners, that is all those exclusive of salaried officials and proprietors, *on the books* of the reporting industries, and as samples for all industries of the same nature. Only that, as it is quite evident, the number of persons *carried* on the payroll books of an industrial establishment does not measure the number of persons *fully* employed nor even whether working at all. Employees working only one day a week are entered into the computations of these indexes on the same terms as those working six days a week (how many of such are left?). And untold numbers on layoffs for a shorter or longer duration may also be reported as "on the payroll."

This essential defect is also present in the *index of employment* published by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. Furthermore, there is every reason to believe—we shall cite one instance later on—

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that the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures have been manipulated to yield certain results not altogether of a scientific character. This has been especially true since the veteran statistician—Dr. Ethelbert Stewart—was dismissed some months ago from his post as Director of the Bureau. But these are the only statistics of a country-wide nature that lend themselves to certain recalculations for the purpose of estimating the amount of unemployment—albeit a *minimum* figure.

The *employment* index of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for *manufacturing* industries of the United States is based on the returns from about 10% of the manufacturing establishments of the country employing between 50% and 60% of the wage-earners of these industries; that is, it is based on the returns from the larger-size establishments. To what extent fluctuation in employment is greater or less in larger than in smaller establishments *at this time* we have no way of telling. In "normal" depressions, 1921 for instance, it has been shown (by W. I. King) the larger establishments lay off a greater percentage of their employees than the smaller ones do. But the present is not a "normal" depression. During the past three years, some thousands of smaller sized manufacturing establishments have been completely liquidated, have gone bankrupt. What has become of their wage-earners? The larger concerns on the other hand, to keep going, have resorted to part-time employment and the stagger system, thereby continuing to report a relatively larger number of wage earners *on their payrolls,* and hence tending to inflate the index. For example, during the first quarter of 1931 the United States Steel Corporation had on its payrolls 76,260 full-time employees and 149,784 part-time employees, a total of 226,044. During the fourth quarter of that year the Corporation had 35,674 full-time and 146,482 part-time employees, a total of 182,156. In the Bureau of Labor Statistics index account would be taken of a decrease of 44,000 wage earners in the steel industry—and of course in the country as a whole. But no account would be taken of the fact that this 44,000 decrease was made up of 41,000 full-time and of only 3,000 part-time employees. At the beginning of the year not quite two employees worked part-time to one full-time. By the end of the year the ratio stood at more than four-to-one.

If the experience of the United States Steel Corporation as a large-scale industry is typical, the *employment* returns to the Bureau of Labor Statistics upon which its index is based must tend to inflate it, and our derived *unemployment* figures must reflect a downard bias.

With these cautions in our minds we turn to our own computations. The index of employment of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is a

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percentage figure of the monthly average of *wage earners employed* in 1926. That average amounted to about 8,500,000. The index for July, 1932, probably the last computed under Dr. Stewart's direction, and the lowest thus far for the current depression, stood at 55.2. (Why we selected this date for our basic computation will be explained below.) That is, counting both full-time and part-time manufacturing wage earners, only 55.2% of the 1926 average, or 4,675,000 were employed in July, 1926, fewer by some 3,825,000 than in 1926. But these were only "wage earners." In addition to the 8,500,000 "wage earners" the manufacturing industries of America, in 1926, employed also 1,300,000 "salaried officers and employees"—superintendents, foremen, engineers, accountants, bookkeepers, stenographers. (We are not worrying about 135,000 odd "proprietors and members of firms.") How many of these had lost their jobs by July, 1932? No one knows. Shall we apply the same percentage? We cannot go far wrong if we do, considering that the index is in all probability an underestimate, anyway. Say, then, 45% of these 1,300,000 or 585,000, were jobless. That make a total of 4,410,000 unemployed computed on the basis of the number of those *employed* in 1926.

But not all of those reported by the United States Census as "gainfully employed" in the "manufacturing industries" were employed in 1926. That number in 1926 amounted to some 12,000,000 persons —proprietors, firm members, wage earners, salaried officers and employees. The coresponding figure of those persons *actually engaged* in these industries in 1926, as we saw a moment ago, could not have amounted to more than 10,000,000. (8,500,000 "wage earners" plus 1,300,000 "salaried officers and employees.") That leaves a total of say, 2,000,000 of this category of "gainfully" employed as unemployed in 1926. Disregarding for a moment the unknown number of persons that have become newly available for employment in the manufacturing industries during the six years 1926-1932, we add these 2,000,000 to the 4,410,000 obtained above *and arrive, as of July,* 1932 *at the figure of* 6,400,000 *as those unemployed in the manufacturing industries of the country.*

The next industry to consider, and of this we have fairly accurate records, is transportation. The employment situation in that industry was succinctly characterized by an Associated Press dispatch from Washington under the date of October 14. "Employment on American railroads during mid-August," read the dispatch, "reached the lowest since 1898." And then went on to say,—

> "The Interstate Commerce Commission, announcing statistics on employment from Class 1 steam railways, reported today that at

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the middle of August, 996,319 men were employed.

"This was the first time employment had fallen below 1,000,000 since 1898, when an average of 928,924 men were employed by all railroads."

How many "unemployed" in the railroad industry?

The number of persons who at the time the 1930 Census was taken gave "Transportation and Communication" as their occupations, whether working at the time or not, amounted to 4,438,605. That included clerical workers, track layers, locomotive engineers, laborers, railway presidents, *et al.*

Now, the principal branch of this category of occupations is the steam railroad industry. According to the records of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average number of *all employees* on the payroll of the railroads of *all* classes amounted for the year 1929 to nearly 1,800,000. If the relation between the occupation census figures and those for the actually employed are the same for the railroads as for manufacturing, that is, 6 to 5 (we will recall that the occupational census enumerated some 12,000,000 persons as occupationally belonging to the manufacturing industries as against the 10,000,00 actually employed), the Census figure for those claiming occupations in the steam railroad industries at the beginning of 1930 could not be less than 2,160,000 (6/5 of the 1,800,000 of above), or almost ½ of the total enumeration for "Transportation and Communication."

Two and one-quarter years later, in July, 1932*, the number on the payrolls of Class 1 railroad companies of the country amounted to 1,005,959 in the mid-month, and to 934,300 as the "number of full operating positions." As Class 1 railroads employ some 95% of the railroad employes of this country, the total number of employes on the payroll of all classes of railroads of this country last mid-summer could not have amounted, then, to more than 1,060,000, and the full-time workers to not more than 950,000. This, therefore, gives us a minimum of about 1,100,000 unemployed railroad workers to be added to our 6,400,000 unemployed we have derived for the manufacturing industries, making a total of 7,500,000 fully unemployed in these two categories of occupation.

But besides the 2,160,000 railroad workers there were another 2,250,000 persons who gave "transportation and communication" as their occupation—chauffers, truck and tractor drivers (over 1,000,000), road and street builders, etc. (307,000), mail carriers (121,-

* The latest available data. One reason why we are basing all our computation on the data for that month.

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000), street railway motormen and conductors (138,000). How many of these were unemployed last mid-summer? We don't know. No statistics are available. Perhaps one-half, perhaps only 1/3. The fact should be borne in mind that for several years past a shift was taking place from steam railway transportation to motorbus and truck transportation, the principal category in our figure. The percent of unemployment in these occupations can not, therefore, be so great as in the railroad industries, where the cyclical decline in employment was reinforced by this observed long time, or secular trend decline. We may as well, then, accept the Bureau of Labor Statistics computations for want of any better estimates.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' figures, there were in July, 1932*, some 21% fewer employees in the telegraph and telephone industries, and 24.4% fewer in the "electric railroad and motorbus operation and maintenance" industries than the average for 1929. These two groups of industries cover about 1,750,000 of the 2,250,000 persons under review. Applying these percentages, the 21% to the 375,000 telephone and telegraph workers, and the 24.4% to the 1,375,000 electric railroad and motorbus workers, and say, 25% to the remaining 500,000, we have the following:

21% of 375,000 equals	78,750
24.4% of 1,375,000 equals	335,500
25% of 500,000 equals	125,000
Total	539,250

And so we add another 539,000 to our 7,500,000 thus far derived, and obtain a new total of 8,039,000 as the number of fully unemployed persons in these three categories of occupations last July.

There remain, now, but four more categories of industries where the unemployment estimate may be made with a semblance of scientific procedure, namely, coal mining, trade, building construction, and agriculture.

In July last, again using the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, unemployment in coal mining, both anthracite and bituminous coal, amounted to 44% of the average number employed in 1929. At that time roughly 700,000 persons were "occupied" in the coal mining industry—691,507 persons gave that industry as their occupation when the census was taken in April, 1930. This, then, allows us to add 308,000 more (44% of 700,000) to our unemployment figures.

"Trade," both wholesale and retail, as their occupation was re-

* Again, the latest available data.

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ported to the 1930 census by 7,537,026 persons. For July, 1932, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' index of employment for wholesale trade stood at 76.6% and for retail trade at 74.6% of the 1929 average. Roughly, then, last July 25% of the 7,537,026 bankers and brokers and customers' men, salesmen and saleswomen, commercial travelers and advertising agents, insurance agents and floorwalkers, "realtors" and corner grocers, butchers and druggists, etc., etc., were out of jobs. And this figures up to 1,884,000.

At this point, then, we have as unemployed, last July—

In manufacturing industries	6,400,000
In transportation and communication	1,639,000
In coal	308,000
In trade	1,884,000
Total in these categories of occupation	10,231,000

In the census of 1930, the "building industry" was given as their occupation by 2,561,541 persons. Already at that time, if we accept the doubtful figures of the Federal Unemployment Census, 19%, or 500,000 of these were unemployed. But since then no other reliable estimates as to the number of unemployed in the building trades has become available. We must therefore make our own estimates.

Two measures are open to us in this regard: The available published data as regards both the *value* and the physical volume (square feet) of building construction in the United States for a number of years back. The building industry is still characteristically a hand industry—certainly no startling substitutions for hand labor have been introduced in these crafts in the past three of four years. Accordingly, we may well assume that the decline in the value or volume of building construction fairly accurately measures the decline in employment in that industry, provided, of course, that proper allowance is made, in the value figures, for the concurrent decline in the price of building materials and labor.

Now, the Bureau of Labor Statistics index of wholesale prices of building materials last mid-summer stood at about 70 (average 1926=100) that is, 30% below the 1926 level. Building wages, the *union* scale, were reported by the same authority at about 15% below. Assuming that materials and wages account for an equal proportion of the cost of building construction, that is about 50-50 (there is sufficient authority for this assumption), the decline in building costs between 1926 and 1932 may be said to have amounted to about 22½%.

During the same period the value of building permits declined

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about 90%! Last summer building operations, relative to pre-depression operations, were virtually at a standstill. Allowing now for the price decline we have a decrease in employment amounting to virtually 70% (67½%). Seventy percent of the 2,561,000 persons reported by the U. S. Census in 1930 as in the building industries make 1,792,000. This on the basis of the decline in the *value* of building construction.

If we follow the figures of physical volume, square feet, of construction, we find that, if for the year 1928, when building contruction in the United States reached its historic peak, we use the figure 10 to represent the total physical volume of construction, already by 1930 that figure had shrunk to 5 and in 1932 to 1.5. On this basis too, then, we arrive at a shrinkage in building employment of 70%—1.5 of 5—between 1930 and 1932, and we no longer hesitate to add our sum of 1,792,00 to our previous total of unemployed as the contribution of the building industries to our swelling figure:

Thus: 10,231,000+1,792,000=12,023,000.

Finally, an estimate, on "scientific grounds," of the amount of unemployment in agriculture.

The number of persons who gave "agriculture" as their occupation in April, 1930, was 10,482,323. These were classified as

Owners and tenant	6,012,012
Unpaid family workers	1,659,792
Wage workers	2,732,972

At this moment we are concerned with the third of these three groups, with the wage workers. How many of these had no jobs in mid-summer, 1932? The United States Department of Agriculture gives us an estimate (press release reprinted in *Monthly Labor Review,* August, 1932): As of July 1, last, the *demand* for farm labor was 62% of *normal.* What is meant by "normal" the Department did not take the trouble to explain—we shall make an effort to explain it at a subsequent point. For the present we shall accept the 2,732,972 figure of the 1930 Census as the normal figure and multiply it by 38% to arrive at the number of unemployed farm wage workers as of July 1, 1932. This process yields 1,138,540 to be added to our previous total, and we get, 12,023,000+1,138,000= 13,161,000 as the number of full-time unemployed in the United States in mid-summer of 1932 in the several categories of occupation reviewed.

There remain to be accounted for (1) the unemployed workers in "public service," in "professional service," in "domestic and personal service," in "forestry and finishing," in "extraction of minerals" other

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than coal, and among the 1,333,065 in "industries not specified"; in the Census of 1930 these occupations accounted for about 11,000,000 of the 38,000,000 persons engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; (2) the 25% of the 6,000,000 farm owners and tenants who have lost their farms through foreclosures since then; and (3), the very important additions to our figures of the number of persons who have become available for work in the various occupations since 1926, 1928, 1929, 1930, as the case may be, upon which we based our calculations.

This, for lack of space, we shall postpone until the next issue of *The Communist.*

* * * *

As regards the status of the economic crisis in mid-October, we cannot do better than to quote the editor of the *Annalist,* of October 21, 1932:

> Despite numerous small indications of business improvement, the outlook for the rest of the year, and for the early part of 1933, is darkened by the fact that the fundamental weaknesses of our situation have not been remedied [!]; and that the necessary measures, especially the laying of new taxation, will inevitably produce new embarrassments. Real budget balancing; the railroads; banking legislation; and especially the tariff problem, are likely to delay recovery.

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